

Cavendish

Biogr

1254 k

<36603423410017

<36603423410017

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

Sir William Cavendish's
MEMOIRS

And: Of the LIFE of *Sampton Junr?*
Cardinal Woolsey.

Legate for the P O P E, Archbishop of Y O R K,
Bishop of WINCHESTER, Lord High-Chancellor
of E N G L A N D, and Principal Minister of State
in the Reign of King H E N R Y the Eighth,

Pri: CONTAINING - 3^r -

- I. His Rise and Excessive Power.
- II. His Embassies, Negotiations and Treaties of Peace
with *Germany* and *France*, &c.
- III. His Secret Transactions in Church and State.
- IV. The Plots of the Nobility against him.
- V. The King's Descent into *France*.
- VI. An Account of the *Perpetual Peace* 'twixt the *English*
and *French*, sign'd and swore to by both Kings.
- VII. The Cardinal's Contrivances to humor the King's
Amours and Entertainments.
- VIII. His Fall, Last Speech, and Death.

To which is added,

A Memorial against Favourites,

Presented to

Q. ELIZABETH,

Written by the Lord-Treasurer *Burleigh*.

The Second Edition.

London Printed, and are to be Sold by *B. Bragg*, at the
Raven in *Pater-noster-row*. 1708.

MEMORIALS

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS

of the Right Honourable
Cardinal Archbishop of York,
Bishop of Winchester, Lord High Chancellor
of England, and Principal Minister of State
in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

CONTAINING

- I. His Rise and Excellent Power.
- II. His Embassies, Negotiations and Treaties of Peace
with Germany and France, &c.
- III. His Secret Transactions in Church and State.
- IV. The Plot of the Nobility against him.
- V. The King's Deceit into France.
- VI. An Account of the Perpetual Peace betwixt the English
and French, begun and sworn to by both Kings.
- VII. The Cardinal's Contrivances to murder the King's
Amours and Entertainments.
- VIII. His Fall, Last Speech, and Death.

To which is added,

A Memorial against Favourites,

Presented to

ELIZABETH,

written by the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh.

The Second Edition.

London Printed, and are to be sold by A. Bagg, at
Kew in Pall-mall-west. 1708.

THE
PREFACE.

T*He Worth of the following Treatise is sufficient to Recommend it self to the World : The Antiquity of the Manuscript, and the near Relation of the Author to the Cardinal's Service, must Enhance the Value with e'ry considering Reader. It will be plain from the Treatise, that the Author was a Domestick of the Cardinal's ; and therefore you will not be surpriz'd to find,*
that

THE PREFACE.

that he endeavour'd to give you only the handsom Likeness of his Master, putting his Finger on all that might Disfigure his Face. They tell a Story of Vandike, that he painted his Daughter leaning on her Hand, and with her Fingers hiding all the lower part of her Face, which was as deform'd, and shocking, as the upper part was charming. The same may be said of our Author; He has not deliver'd any thing but Truth, and Truth that affords a great deal of Variety and Pleasure; but he has cast into a Shade all the evil Effects of that Statesman's Administration, which

THE PREFACE.

which will be evident from the Perusal of the Memorial of my Lord Cecil.

*It must be own'd, that the Cardinal was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and the best qualify'd for such a Favourite; but it must also be confess'd, that no Man can be so qualify'd as to deserve such singular Favour. And he will be an Example to warn all others who aspire to the same Height and Grandeur, on what a slippery Bottom they fix their Happiness, the Mutability of Fortune, the tottering State of all earthly Dignity, the Deceitfulness of flattering Friends,
and*

The P R E F A C E.

and the Instability of Princes Favours. For this great Cardinal experienc'd all these Things; witness his fleeting Honour, the Loss of Friends, Riches, and Dignities; having Satiety of all Things while Fortune smil'd, and, being in her Frown forgot by his Prince, who doated on him, and depriv'd of all earthly Joys, and even of his Liberty, the Sum of all; who in above twenty Years Study, Industry and Pains, obtain'd Wealth and Dignity so eminent, and lost all in less than one Year.

T H E

T H E
MEMOIRS

Of that Great Favourite,

Cardinal Woolsey.

TRuth it is, *Cardinal Woolsey* was an honest poor Man's Son in the Town of *Ipswich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, and there born, who being but a Child, was very apt to learn; wherefore, by means of his Parents and other his good Friends, he was maintained at the University of *Oxford*, where in a short time he prospered so well, that in a small time (as he told me with his own Mouth) he was made Batchelour of Arts when he was but fifteen Years of Age, and was most commonly called the Boy-Batchelour.

He was
Batchelour
of Arts at
15 Yeas of
Age.

2 *Memoirs of Cardinal Woolsey.*

lour. Thus, prospering in Learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, after that he was made Master of *Magdalen-School*, at which time were the Lord Marques of *Dorset's* Sons there at School, committing unto him as well their Education as their Instructions and Learning.

It pleased this Lord Marques against *Christmas* to send as well for the School-master as for the Scholars home to his House, for their Recreation in that pleasant and honourable Forrest. They being a while there, the Lord Marques their Father perceiving them to be well improved in Learning for the time; He was so well contented, that he, having a Benefice in his Gift, (being at that present void) gave the School-master the same, in regard of his Diligence. After *Christmas*, at his Departure to the University, and he having the Presentation thereof, repaired to the Ordinary for his Institution. And being then furnished with all his Instruments at the Ordinary's Hands for his Preferment, made hast, without any further Delay, to his Benefice to take possession thereof. Now you shall understand, that the School-

School-master had not been long there, but one Sir *James Pawlet*, Kt. dwelling in the Country thereabouts, took an Occasion of Displeasure against him, but upon what ground I know not; inso-much that Sir *James* was so bold as to set the School-master by the Heels during his Displeasure; which Affront was afterwards neither forgotten, nor forgiven; For, when the School-master mounted so high as to be Lord-Chancellor of *England*, he was not forgetful of his old Displeasure, most cruelly ministered unto him by Sir *James*, but sent for him, and after a very sharp Reproof, enjoined him not to depart out of *London*, without License first obtained; so that he continued in the *Middle-Temple* the space of five or six Years; who afterwards lay in the *Gate-house* next the Stairs, which he re-edified, and sumptuously beautified the same all over on the Out-side, with the Cardinal's Arms, his Hat, his Cognizance and Badges, with other Devices, in so glorious a manner, as he thought thereby to have appeased his old Displeasure.

This may be a good Precedent for Men in Authority, which Work their

Memoirs of Cardinal Woolsey.

own Wills without Wit, to remember that Greatness may Decay. And those whom they do punish more of Humour than Justice, may afterwards be advanced to great Honour (as this Cardinal was) and they abased as low as this Sir James was, which seek Revenge. Who would have thought, that when Sir James Pawlet punished this poor School-master, that ever he should have mounted to so great Dignity as to be Chancellor of *England*, considering his mean Parentage and Friends? These be the wonderful Works of God's Providence. And I would wish, that all Men in Authority would fear God in all Ages in the Time of their Triumph and Greatness; considering that Advancement and Authority are not permanent, but many times slide and vanish suddenly away, as Princes Pleasures alters and change, or as all living Creatures must of Necessity pay the Debt due to Nature, which no earthly Creature can resist.

Shortly after it chanced the said Lord Marquess died, after whose decease the School-master thinking himself but a weak beneficed Man, and that he had
left

left his Fellowship in the College, for (as I understand) if a Fellow of that House be once promoted to a Benefice, he shall by the Rules of the same House be dismissed of his Fellowship; and now being also destitute of his singular good Lord, as well as of his Fellowship, which was most of his Relief, thought long to be provided of some other Help to defend him from all such Storms as he might meet with. In his travel thereabouts he grew acquainted with a very great and ancient Knight, who had a great Place in *Callis*, under King *Henry* the Seventh. This Knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, that he obtain'd the special Favour of his said Master; insomuch, that for his Wit and Gravity he committed all the Care and Charge of his said Office to his said Chaplain. And, as I understand, his Office was the Treasurership of *Callis*, who, in regard of his great Age, shortly after was discharged of his said Office, and so returned into *England*, intending to live a more private Life. But, through his instant Labour and good Favour, his Chaplain was preferred to be the King's Chaplain: And when he

had once cast Anchor in the Port of Promotion, how he then bestirred himself, I shall now declare.

He having then just occasion to be daily in sight of the King in his Closet, not spending the rest of the Day in Idleness, would attend those Men whom he thought to bear most Rule in the Council; and were most in Favour with the King, which at that time was Dr. Fox, Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Privy-Seal; and also Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Kt. a very sage and wise Councillor, being Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower.

These ancient and grave Councillors, in process of time, perceiving this Chaplain to be a Man of a very accute Wit, thought him a meet Instrument to be employed in greater Affairs.

Not long after it happened, that the King had an urgent Occasion to send an Embassador to *Maximilian* the Emperour, who lay at that present in the Low-Countries at *Flanders*, and not far from *Callis*.

Now the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, whom the King most esteemed, as the chiefest of his Council,
one

one Day, advising and debating with themselves upon this Embassage, and by this time they saw they had a convenient Occasion to prefer the King's Chaplain, whose excellent Eloquence and Learning, they highly commended unto the King's Highness, who giving ear unto them, and being a Prince of an excellent Judgment and Modesty, he commanded them to bring his Chaplain (whom they so commended) before his Grace; and, being come, his Majesty (to prove his Ability) entered into Discourse with him, concerning Matters of State, whereby the King had so well informed himself, that he found him to be a Man of a sharp Wit, and of such excellent Parts, that he thought him worthy to be put in trust with Matters of greater Consequence.

The King being now resolved to employ him in this Embassage, commanded him thereupon to prepare himself for his Journey; and for his Dispatch, wisht him to repair to his Grace and his Council, of whom he should receive his Commission and Instruction. By means whereof he had then a fit Occasion to repair from time to time into the King's Presence,

fence, who had thereby daily Experience of his singular Wisdom and sound Judgment. Thus having his Dispatch, he took his Leave of the King at *Richmond*, about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, where he lancheth forth in a *Graves-end* Barge with a prosperous Wind and Tide; and his happy Speed was such, that he arrived at *Graves-end* in a little more than three Hours; where he tarried no longer than the Post-horses were provided, and he travelled so speedily, that he came to *Dover* the next Morning, where the Passengers were under sail to pass to *Callis*; so that long before Noon he arrived there, and having Post-horses prepared, departed from thence without tarrying, making such hasty Speed, that he was that Night with the Emperour: Who understanding of the Arrival of the King of *England's* Ambassadour, would in no wise delay time, but sent for him incontinently; for his Affection to the King of *England* was such, that he was glad of any Opportunity to do him a Courtesie.

The Ambassadour declares the Sum of his Embassie unto the Emperour, of whom he craved speedy Expedition, which

which was granted him; so that the next Day he was clearly dispatched, and all the King's Requests fully accomplished and granted. At which time he made no further stay, but took Post-horses that Night and rode without Intermission to *Callis*, being conducted thither by divers Nobles appointed by the Emperour; and at the opening of the Gates of *Callis* he came thither, where the Passengers were ready to return for *England*; in-somuch that he arrived at *Dover* between ten and eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon.

And having Post-horses in a readiness, came to the Court at *Richmond* that same Night, where (taking his Repose until Morning) he presented himself unto his Majesty at his first coming out of his Bed-chamber to his Closet to Mass, whom, when he saw, he checked for that he was not in his Journey.

Sir, (quoth he) *If it may please your Highness, I have already been with the Emperour, and dispatched your Affairs, I trust to your Grace's Contentation:* And thereupon presented the King with his Letters of Credence from the Emperour. The King wondering at his speedy Return

turn (he being so well furnished with all his Proceedings) for the present dissembled his Admiration and Imagination in that Matter; and demanding of him whether he encountred with his Pursevant, which he sent unto him with Letters, imagining him to be scarce out of *London*, which concerned very material Passages which were omitted in their Consultation, which the King earnestly desired should have been Dispatched in his Ambassage.

Yes, Forsooth, (quoth he) I met with him Yesterday by the Way; and though I had no Knowledge thereof, yet notwithstanding I have been so bold (upon mine own Discretion) perceiving the Matter to be very necessary, in that behalf I dispatched the same. And forasmuch as I have been so bold to exceed my Commission, I most humbly crave your Royal Remission and Pardon.

The King inwardly Rejoycing, replied, *We do not only Pardon you, but give you our Princely Thanks, both for your good Exploit and happy Expedition. And dismissed him for that present, and bad him return to him again after Dinner, for a further Relation of his Ambassage, and so the King went to Mass.*

It is not to be doubted, but this Ambassadour had all this while visited his great Friends, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Thomas Lovell*, to whom he had declared the Effect of his Ambassage; and also his Majesty's Commendations of him, did not a little Rejoyce the Worthy Counsellours, forasmuch as he was of their Preferment. And shortly after, the King gave him for his diligent Service, the Deanry of *Lincoln*, which was in those Days, one of the greatest Promotions he gave under the Degree of a Bishop. And he grew more and more in Estimation and Authority, and was afterwards promoted to be Almaner.

Now not long after when Death (that favoureth no Estates, nor King nor Kezar) had taken away the wise King *Henry* the Seventh out of this present Life; it was a Wonder to see what Practices and Devices were then used, about the young Prince *Henry* the Eighth; the great Provision that was then made for the Funeral of the one, and for the Coronation of the other, by the now Queen *Catherine*, and Mother after the Queen's Highness that now is, whose vertuous Life Jesu long preserve.

After

After the Solemnizations and costly Triumphs, our natural, young, courageous, lusty Prince and Sovereign Lord, King *Henry* the Eight, entring into his Flower and lusty Youth, took upon him the Royal Scepter and Imperial Diadem of this fertile Nation, the two and twentieth of *April*, *Anno Dom'* 1509, which at that time flourished with all Abundance of Riches, whereof the King was most inestimably furnished, call'd then, *The Golden World*.

Now shortly after, the Almaner seeing he had a plain Path-way to Promotion, behaved himself so politickly, that he was made one of the King's Privy-Council, and increased in Favour daily: to whom he gave a House at *Bridewel*, near *Fleet-street*, where he kept his House for his Family, and so he daily attended upon the King, being in special Favour.

His Sentences in the Star-chamber were ever so pithy and witty, that upon all Occasions they assign'd him for the Eloquence of his Tongue, to be the Expofitor to the King in all their Proceedings. In whom the King received so great Content, that he call'd him still nearer to his Person; and the rather, because

cause he was most ready to advance the King's own Will and Pleasure, having no Respect to the Case.

Now the King being young, and much given to his Pleasure, his old Counsellors advis'd him to have Recourse sometimes to the Counsel about his weighty Affairs; but the Almaner on the contrary, perswaded him to mind his Pleasure, and he would take his Care and Charge upon himself, (if his Majesty would Countenance him with his Authority) which the King liked well. And thus none was like to the Almaner in Favour with the King.

Thus the Almaner continuing in high Favour, till at last many Presents, Gifts and Rewards came in so plentifully, that I dare say, he wanted nothing; for he had all things in Abundance that might either please his Fancy or enrich his Coffers, for the Times so favourably smiled upon him; but to what End you shall hereafter hear. Therefore let all Men, to whom Fortune extendeth her Favour and Grace, take heed they trust not her subtil and fair Promises, for under Colour thereof, she carrieth an envious Gall; for when she seeth her Servant in highest

est Authority, she turneth her Favour and pleasant Countenance into Frowns.

This Almaner climbing up Fortune's Wheel, that no Man was in Estimation with the King, but only he for his witty Qualities and Wisdom.

He was naturally eloquent.

He had an especial Gift of Natural Eloquence, and a filed Tongue to pronounce the same, that he was able therewith to perswade and allure all Men to his Purposes, in the time of his continuance in Fortune's Favour.

King Henry in the fifth Year of his Reign invaded France.

In the fifth Year of the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight, it chanced that the Realm of *England* and *France* was at Variance, but upon what Ground or Occasion, I know not, insomuch that the King was fully resolved in his own Person to invade *France* with a puissant Army: It was therefore thought very necessary, that his Royal Enterprizes should be speedily provided and furnished in every Degree, in things apt and convenient for the same; for Expedition thereof, the King thought no Man's Wit so meet for Policy and painful Travel, as the Almoner, to whom he committed his whole Affiance and Trust therein: And he being nothing scrup-

scrupulous in any thing that the King would command, although it seemed very difficult, took upon him the whole Charge of the Business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good Effect in direct Order for all manner of Victuals and Provision convenient for so noble a Voyage and Army.

The King
relieth up-
on the Al-
maner's Po-
licy.

All things being thus prepared by him in Order, the King not intending to neglect or delay any Time, but with noble and valiant Courage to advance his Royal Enterprize, passed the Seas between *Dover* and *Callis*, where he prosperously arrived. And after he had there made his Arrival, and landed all his Provision and Munition, and sat in Consultation about his weighty Affairs, marched forth in good Order of Battle, till he came to the strong Town of *Turwine*, to the which he laid strong Siege, and made a sharp Assault, so that in short space it was yielded unto him, unto which Place the Emperour *Maximillian* resorted unto him with a great Army like a mighty Prince, taking of the King Wages.

He besieg'd
the strong
Town of
Turwine.

Thus after the King had taken this strong Town, and took Possession thereof, and set all things in good Order for
the

He besie-
geth the
Town of
Turney.

the Defence and Preservation thereof to his Majesty's Use, then he retir'd from thence, and marched towards *Turney*, and there laid Siege in like manner, to which he gave so fierce Assault, that the Enemies were constrained to render the Town to his Majesty. At which time the King gave unto the Almaner the Bishoprick of the same See towards his Pains and Diligence sustain'd in that Journey. And when he had establish'd all things according to his Princely Mind and Pleasure, and furnish'd the same with Men and Captains of War for the Safeguard of the Town, he prepared for his Return to *England*.

The Scots
in the
King's Ab-
sence in-
vade *Eng-
land.*

But now you shall understand by the way, that whilst the King was absent with a great Power in *France*, the Scottish King invaded *England*; against whom the Queen sent a great Army, the Earl of *Surry* being General, where he overthrew the Scots at *Blamston*, called *Hoddenfield*, where the King of Scots was slain with divers of his Nobility, and eighteen thousand Men, and they took all his Munition for War.

By this time the King returned into *England*, and took with him divers noble

noble Personages of *France*, being Prisoners; as the Duke of *Languido*, Viscount *Clerimond*, with divers others that were taken in a Skirmish.

And thus God gave him Victory at home, and Victory abroad, being in the fifth Year of his Reign, *Anno Dom. 1513.*

The King being return'd into *England*, the See of *Lincoln* being void by the Death of Dr. *Smith*, late Bishop there, which Bishoprick the King gave to the Almoner Elect of *Turney*, who was not negligent to take Possession thereof, but made all speed for his Consecration; the Solemnization thereof being ended, he found a Way to get into his Hands all his Predecessor's Goods, whereof I have seen divers Parts that furnish'd his House.

It was not long after, but Dr. *Bambridge*, Arch-bishop of *York*, died at *Rohan* in *France*, being there the King's Embassador, unto which See the King presented the last new Bishop of *Lincoln*; so that he had three Bishopricks in his Hands at one time, all in one Year given him. Then prepar'd he again for his Translation from the See of *Lincoln* to that of *York*, as he did before to his Installation.

C

After

After which Solemnization done, and being then Archbishop and *Primus Angliae*, thought himself sufficient to compare with that of *Canterbury*, and did thereupon advance his Crosses in the Courts, and every other Place, as well in the Precinct and Jurisdiction of *Canterbury*, as any other Place; and forasmuch as *Canterbury* claimeth a Superiority over *York*, as well as over any other Bishoprick within *England*, and for that Cause claimeth an Acknowledgment, as in ancient Obedience of *York* to abate Advancement of his Crosses, to the Crosses of *Canterbury*.

Notwithstanding *York* not desisting to bear the same, altho' *Canterbury* gave *York* a Check for the same, and told him it was Presumption, by reason whereof there ingender'd some Grudge between them: But shortly after he obtained to be made Cardinal, and *Legatus de Literis*, unto whom the Pope sent the Cardinal's Cap, and certain Bulls for his Authority in that behalf; whereupon he was Installed at *Westminster* in great Triumph, which was executed by all Bishops with their Mitres, Caps, and other Ornaments; and, after all this, he was
made

made Chancellor of *England*; and *Canterbury*, who was the Chancellor, was dismissed.

Now, being in the Chancellorship, and endow'd with the Promotions of Archbishop and Cardinal *de Litera*, thought himself so fully furnish'd, that he was now able to surmount *Canterbury* in all Jurisdictions; and in all Ecclesiastical Powers to convocate *Canterbury* and all other Bishops and spiritual Persons to assemble at his Convocations, where he would assign and take upon him the Conversion of all Ministers, and others within their Jurisdictions, and visited all the spiritual Houses in their Dioceses, and all manner of spiritual Ministers, as Commissioners, Scribes, Apparators, and all other necessary Officers to furnish his Courts, and did convent by Convention whom he pleas'd thro' this Realm and Dominion, and all other Persons to the Glory of his Dignity. Then had he two great Crosses of Silver, whereof one was of his Archbishop, and the other of his Legasie, born before him, wheresoever he rode or went, by two of the tallest Priests that he could get in this Realm.

And, to the Increase of his Gain, he

had in his Hand the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and *St. Alban's in Commendum*; Also, when Dr. *Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester* died, he did surrender *Durham* to the King, and took himself to *Winchester*. He had also, as it were in Farm, the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, for the Incumbents of them were Strangers. He had also attending upon him Men of great Possessions, and the tallest Yeoman for his Guard in the Realm.

And first for his House, you shall understand, that he had in his Hall three Boards kept with three several Officers, (that is to say) a Steward, that was always a Priest; a Treasurer, that was ever a Knight; and a Comptroller, that was an Esquire; also, a Confessor, a Doctor; three Marshals, three Ushers in the Hall, besides two Almoners and Grooms.

Then had he in the Hall kitchen two Clarks, a Clark-Comptroller, and a Surveyor over the Dresser; a Clark in the Spicery, which kept continually a Mess together in the Hall; also he had in the Hall-kitchen two Cooks and Labourers, and Children, twelve Persons; four Men of the Scullery, two Yeomen of the Pastry,

fry, with two other Pafte-layers under the Yeomen.

Then had he in his Kitchen a Master-Cook, who went daily in Velvet or Satin, with a Gold-chain, besides two other Cooks, and fix Labourers in the same Room.

In the Larder 1 Yeoman and a Groom; in the Scullery 1 Yeoman and 2 Grooms; in the Buttery 2 Yeomen and 2 Grooms; in the Ewry fo many; in the Cellar, 3 Yeomen, 3 Pages; in the Chandery, 2 Yeomen; in the Waifary, 2 Yeomen; in the Wardrop of Beds, the Master of the Wardrop, and 20 Persons besides; in the Laundry, a Yeoman and a Groom, and 13 Pages; 2 Yeomen-Purveyors, and a Groom-Purveyor; in the Bake-house, 2 Yeomen and Grooms; in the Wood-yard, 1 Yeoman and a Groom; in the Barn, 1 Yeomen; Porters at the Gate, 2 Yeomen and 2 Grooms; a Yeoman in his Barge, and a Master of his Horfe; a Clark of the Stables, and a Yeoman of the same; a Farrier, and a Yeoman of the Stirrop; a Maltlour and 16 Grooms, every one of them keeping 4 Geldings.

Now will I declare unto you the Officers of his Chappel, and Singing-men of the

The Officers of his Chappel.

the same. First he had there a Dean, a great Divine, and a Man of excellent Learning, and a Sub-dean a Repeater of the Quire, a Gospeller, an Epistler of the singing Priests, a Master of the Children; in the Vestry a Yeoman and two Grooms, besides other Retainers, that came thither at principal Feasts.

And for the Furniture of his Chapel, it passeth my weak Capacity to declare the Number of the costly Ornaments and rich Jewels that were occupied in the same; for I have seen in Procession about the Hall 44 rich Copes of one Settle worn, besides the rich Candlesticks, and other necessary Ornaments to the Furniture of the same.

Officers in
his privy
Chamber.

Now you shall understand, that he had two Cross-bearers, and two Pillar-bearers in his great Chamber, and in his privy Chamber, all these Persons; The Chief-chamberlain, a Vice-chamberlain, a Gentleman-usher, besides one of his privy Chamber; he had also 12 Waiters, and 6 Gentleman-waiters; also he had 9 or 10 Lords, who had each of them 2 or 3 Men to wait upon him, except the Earl of *Darby*, who had 5 Men. Then he had Gentlemen Cup-bearers
and

and Carvers, and of the Sewers, both of the great Chamber, and of the privy Chamber 40 Persons; 6 Yeomen-ushers, 8 Grooms of his Chamber; also he had of Alms, who were Daily-waiters of his Board at Dinner, 12 Doctors and Chaplains, besidee them of his, which I never rehearsed; a Clark of his Closet, and 2 Secretaries, and 2 Clarks of his Signet; 4 Councillors learned in the Law.

And for that he was Chancellor of *England*, it was necessary to have Officers of the Chancery to attend him for the better Furniture of the same.

First, he had a Riding-clark, a Clark of the Crown, a Clark of the Hamper, a Chafer; then had he a Clark of the Check, as well upon the Chaplains, as upon the Yeomen of the Chamber; he had also 4 Foot-men garnished with rich running Coats, whensoever he had any Journey: Then he had a Herald of Arms, a Serjeant of Arms; a Phyfician, an Apothecary; 4 Minstrels, a Keeper of his Tents, an Armorer; an Instructor of his Wards, an Instructor of his Wardrop of Robes, a Keeper of his Chamber continually; he had also in his House a Surveyor of *York*, a Clark of the

C 4 Green-

Green-cloth. All these were daily attending, down-lying and up-rising. And at Meat he had 8 continual Boards for the Chamberlains and Gentlemen-officers, having a Mess of young Lords, and another of Gentlemen; Besides this, there was never a Gentleman or Officer, or other worthy Person, but he kept some two, some three Persons to wait upon them; and all other at the least had one, which did amount to a great Number of Persons.

Now, having declar'd the Order according to the Chein-roll us'd in his House, and what Officers he had daily attending to furnish the same, besides Retainers and other Persons, being Suitors that din'd in the Hall; When shall we see any more such Subjects that shall keep such a noble House? Therefore here is an end of his Household, the Number of Persons in the Chein were 800 Persons.

After he was thus furnished in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you; He was sent twice on Embassage to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, that now reigneth, and Father to King *Philip*, now, our Lord and Sovereign; forasmuch

much as the old Emperour *Maximillian* was dead, and for divers other urgent Occasions touching his Majesty : It was thought fit , that about such weighty Matters, and to so noble a Prince, the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on this Embassage ; and he being one ready to take the Charge thereof upon him, was furnished in every Respect most like a great Prince, which was much to the Honour of his Majesty , and of this Realm : For first he proceeded forth like to a Cardinal, having all things correspondent, his Gentlemen being very many in Number, were cloathed in Livery-coats of Crimfon Velvet of the best, and Chains of Gold about their Necks : And his Yeomen and all his mean Officers were clad in fine Scarlet, guarded with Black Velvet, one Hand breadth. Thus furnished, he wastwice sent in this manner to the Emperor in *Flanders*, then lying at *Bruges*, whom he did most nobly entertain, discharging all his own Charges, and his Mens. There was no House in the Town of *Bruges*, wherein any of my Lord's Gentlemen were Lodged or had Recourse, but that the Owners of the Houses were commanded by the Emperor's Officers,

Officers, upon the Pain of their Lives, to take no Money for any thing that the Cardinal's Men did take of any kind of Victuals; No, altho' they were disposed to make costly Banquets; further commanding their said Hosts, That they should want nothing which they honestly required, or desired to have.

Also, The Emperor's Officers every Night, went thro' the Town from House to House, where any English Men had Recourse or Lodged, and served their Livery for all Night, which was done on this manner. First, The Officers brought into the House a Casteel of fine Manchet, then two Silver Pots of Wine, and a Pound of Sugar, White Lights, and Yellow Lights, a Bowl of Silver, and a Goblet to drink in; and every Night a Staff Torch. This was their Order of their Livery every Night: And then in the Morning when the Officers came to clear away, they accounted for the Gentlemens Costs the Day before.

Thus the Emperor entertained the Cardinal, and his Train during the time of his Embassage. And that done, he returned into *England* with great Triumph,

umph, being no less in Estimation with the King, than he was before, but rather much more ; for he encreased daily in the King's Favour, by reason of Wits and Readiness to do the King Pleasure in all things.

In the One and twentieth Year of King *Henry* the Eighth's Reign, *Anno Dom. 1529.* this Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, came into *England*, who was nobly entertained.

Now must I declare the manner of his going to *Westminster-hall* in the Term time : First, When he came out of his Privy-Chamber, he most commonly heard two Masses in his Chapel or Chamber. And I heard one of his Chaplains say since (that was a Man of Credit, and excellent Learning) that what Business soever the Cardinal had in the Day-time, that he never went to Bed with any part of his Service unsaid ; no, not so much as one Collect ; in which I think he deceived many a Man : Then going into his Chamber again, he demanded of some of his Servants, if they were in Readiness, and had furnished his Chamber of Presence, and Waiting-chamber : He being then advertised, came out of his

his Privy-Chamber about Eight of the Clock, ready appavelled, and in Red like a Cardinal, his upper Vesture was all of Scarlet, or else of fine Crimson Taffata, or Crimson Sattin Ingrained, his Pillion Scarlet, with a Black Velvet Tippet of Sables about his Neck, holding in his Hand an Orange, the Meat or Substance thereof being taken out and filled again with a part of Spunge, with Vinegar and other Confections against Pestilent Aires, the which he most commonly held to his Nose, when he came to the Presses, or when he was pestered with many Suitors: And before him was born the Broad Seal of *England*, and the Cardinal's Hat, by some Lord, or some Gentleman of Worship right solemnly: And as soon as he was entered into his Chamber of Presence, where there were daily attending on him as well Noblemen of this Realm, as other worthy Gentlemen of his own Family; his two great Crosses were there attending upon him: Then cry the Gentlemen-ushers that go before him bare-headed; *On Masters before, and make room for my Lord.* Thus went he down into the Hall, with a Serjeant of Arms before him, bearing a great Mace
of

of Silver, and two Gentlemen carrying two great Plates of Silver; and when he came to the Hall-door, there his Mule stood trapped in Crimson Velvet, with a Saddle of the same.

Then was attending him, when he was mounted, his two Cross-bearers, his two Pillow-bearers, all upon great Horses, all in fine Scarlet; then he marched on with a Train of Gentry, having four Foot-men about him, bearing every one of them a Pole-axe in his Hand; and thus passed he forth till he came to *Westminster*, and there alighted, and went in this manner up to the Chancery, and staid a while at a Bar, made for him beneath the Chancery, and there he communed sometimes with the Judges, and sometimes with other Persons, and then went up to the Chancery, and set there till Eleven of the Clock, to hear Suits, and to determine Causes: And from thence he would go into the Star-Chamber, as occasion served him; he neither spared High nor Low, but did Judge every one according to Right.

Every *Sunday* he would resort to the Court, being then at *Greenwich*, with his former rehearsed Train and Triumph, taking

taking his Barge at his own Stairs, furnished with Yeomen standing upon the Sails, and his Gentlemen within and about, and landed at the three Cranes in the *Vine-tree*, and from thence he rode upon his Mule, with his Croffes, his Pillars, his Hat, and his Broad Seal, carry'd before him on Horse-back along *Thames-street* until he came to *Billingsgate*, and there he took his Barge, and so went to *Greenwich*, where he was nobly entertained of the Lords in the King's House, being there with Staves in their Hands, as the Treasurer, Comptroller, with many others, and conveyed into the King's Chamber, and so went home again in the like Triumph.

He lived a long Season, ruling all things in this Realm appertaining to the King by his Wisdom, and all other Matters of foreign Regions, with whom the King had any occasion to meddle. All Embassadors of foreign Potentates, were ever disposed by the Cardinal's Wisdom, to whom they had continual Access for their Dispatch.

Great resort to his House as to the King.

His House was always resorted unto like a King's House, with Noblemen and Gentlemen: And when it pleased the

the King's Majesty (as many times it did) he would for his Recreation, resort unto the Cardinal's House, against whose coming there wanted no Preparation or goodly Furnitures, with Victuals of the finest sort that could be got for Money or Friendship.

Such Pleasures were here devised for the King's Delight, as could be invented or imagined; Banquets set with Masquers and Mummers, in such costly manner, that it was glorious to behold; there wanted no Damsels meet to dance with the Masquers, or to garnish the Place for the Time, with Variety of other Pastimes. Then was there divers kinds of Musick, and many choice Men and Women-singers appointed to sing, who had excellent Voices. I have seen the King come suddenly thither in a Masque, with a dozen Masquers all in Garments like Shepherds, made of fine Cloth of Gold and Silver Wyre, and six Torch-bearers, besides their Drummers and others attending on them with Vizards, and cloathed all in Sattin. And before his entring into the Hall, you shall understand that he came by Water to the Water-gate, without any manner of Noise,

His Entertainment of the King in a Masque.

Noise, where were laid divers Chambers and Guns charged with Shot, and at his Landing they were discharged, which made such a rattling Noise in the Air, that it was like Thunder; it made all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Ladies to muse what it should mean coming so suddenly, they sitting quietly at a Banquet. In this sort you shall understand, that the Tables were set in the Chamber of Presence covered, and my Lord Cardinal sitting under his Cloth of State, and there having all his Service alone: And then was there set a Lady and a Nobleman, a Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, throughout all the Tables in the Chambers on the one side, which were made all joyning, as it were, but one Table. All which Order was done by my Lord *Sands*, then Lord Chamberlain to the King, and by Sir *Henry Guilford*, then Comptroller of the King's House.

Then immediately, after this great Shot of Guns, the Cardinal desir'd the Lord-Chamberlain to see what it did mean, as tho' he knew nothing of the matter; they then looked out of the Window into the *Thames*, and returning again, told him, That *they thought they*
were

were Noblemen and Strangers arrived at the Bridge, and coming as Embassadors from some foreign Prince. With that, said the Cardinal, I desire you, because you can speak French, to take the Pains to go into the Hall, there to receive them into the Chamber; where they shall see us, and all those noble Personages being merry at our Banquet, desiring them to sit down with us, and take part of our Fare.

Then went they incontinently into the Hall, where they were received with twenty Torches, and convey'd up into the Chamber with such a Number of Drums and Flutes, as I have seldom seen together at one time and place.

The King and his Company conducted into the Chamber.

Then, at their arrival into the Chamber, they went two and two together directly before the Cardinal where he sat, and saluted them very reverently: To whom the Lord-Chamberlain for them said, Sir, forasmuch as they are Strangers, and cannot speak English, they have desir'd me to declare unto you, That they having understanding of this your triumphant Banquet, were assembled such a number of fair Dames, they could do no less (under the Supportation of your Grace) than to view as well their incomparable Beanties,

D

as

as to accompany them at Mumchance, and after that to dance with them, so to beget their better Acquaintance. And, furthermore, they require of your Grace, license to accomplish this cause of their coming.

When the Cardinal said, *He was willing, and very well content they should do so.*

The Mas-
quers salute
the Ladies.

Then went the Masquers and first saluted all the Dames, and then return'd to the most worthiest, and there opened the great Cup of Gold, fill'd with Crowns and other Pieces to cast at.

Thus perusing all the Gentlewomen, of some they won, and to some they lost. And, having view'd all the Ladies, they return'd to the Cardinal with great Reverence, pouring down all their Gold, which was above 200 Crowns. *At all,* quoth the Cardinal, and casting the Dye, he won it, whereat was made great Joy.

The Cardi-
nal casts
at 200
Crowns.

Then, quoth the Cardinal to my Lord-Chamberlain, *I pray you go tell them, that to me it seemeth, that there should be a Nobleman amongst them, that better deserves to sit in this Place than I, to whom I should gladly surrender the same, according to my Duty, if I knew him.*

Then spake my Lord-Chamberlain to them in French, declaring my Lord-Cardinal's

dinal's Words, and they rounding him again in the Ear, the Lord-Chamberlain said unto my Lord-Cardinal, *Sir, (quoth he) they confesse, that among them is such a noble Personage, whom, if your Grace can point out from the rest, he is contented to disclose himself, and to accept of your Place most willingly.*

With that, the Cardinal taking good Advice, went amongst them, and, at the last, (quoth he) *It seemeth to me, that the Gentleman with the black Beard should be he.* And with that he rose out of his Chair, and offered the same to the Gentleman with the black Beard, with the Cup in his Hand: But the Cardinal was mistaken, for the Person to whom he then offer'd his Chair, was Sir *Edward Nevill*, a comely Knight, and of a goodly Personage, who did more resemble his Majesty's Person than any other in that Masque.

The King, seeing the Cardinal so deceiv'd in his choice, could not forbear laughing, but pull'd down his Vizard, and Sir *Edward Nevill's* also, with such a pleasant Countenance and Cheer, that all the noble Estates desir'd his Highness to take his Place: To whom the King

*The Table
of the
new
year
and
new
year
and
new
year*

*The Cardi-
nal mista-
ken.*

The Tables
furnish'd
again with
a new Ban-
quet.

made answer, *That he would first go and shift him.* And thereupon went into the Cardinal's Bed-chamber, where was a great Fire prepar'd for him, and there he new apparell'd himself with rich and princely Garments: And, in the King's absence, the Dishes of the Banquet was clean taken away, and the Tables cover'd again with new and perfum'd Cloaths, every Man sitting still until the King's Majesty with his Masquers came in among them, every Man new apparell'd.

Then the King took his Seat under the Cloath of Estate, commanding every Person to sit still, as they did before; And then came in a new Banquet before his Majesty of 200 Dishes; and so they pass'd the Night in Banquetting and Dancing until Morning, which much rejoyc'd the Cardinal, to see his Sovereign Lord so pleasant at his House.

Now you shall understand, that the young Lord of *Northumberland*, attended upon my Lord-Cardinal; who, when the Cardinal went to Court, would ever have conference with Mistress *Anne Bullen*, who then was one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Catherine*, insomuch, that

that at last they were contracted together ; which, when the King heard, he was much moved thereat, (for he had a private Affection to her himself) which was not yet discover'd to any ; and then advis'd the Cardinal to send for the Earl of *Northumberland*, his Father, and take order to dissolve the Contract made between the said Parties ; which the Lord-Cardinal did, after a sharp Reprehension, in regard he was contracted without the King and his Father's knowledge : He sent for his Father, who came up to *London* very speedily, and came first to my Lord-Cardinal, as all great Personages did, that in such sort were sent for, of whom they were advertis'd of the cause of their sending for : And, when the Earl was come, he was presently brought to the Cardinal into the Gallery. After whose meeting, my Lord-Cardinal and he were in secret Communication a long space ; after their long Discourse, and drinking a Cup of Wine, the Earl departed ; and, at his going away, he sat down at the Gallery-end in the Hall upon a Form, and, being sat, call'd his Son unto him, and said,

The Earl
come to the
Cardinal.

Son, (quoth he) even as thou art, and

D 3

ever

His sharp
Reproof of
his Son.

ever hast been a proud, disdainful, and very unthrifty Master, so thou hast now declar'd thy self; wherefore what Joy, what Pleasure, what Comfort, or what Solace can I conceive in thee, that thus, without Discretion hast abused thy self? having neither regard to me thy natural Father, nor unto thy natural Sovereign Lord, to whom all honest and loyal Subjects bear faithful Obedience, nor yet to the Prosperity of thy own Estate; but hast so unadvisedly ensnar'd thy self to her, for whom thou hast purchas'd the King's high Displeasure, intollerable for any Subject to sustain: And, but that the King doth consider the Lightness of thy Head, and wilful Qualities of thy Person, his Displeasure and Indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my Posterity into utter Ruine and Destruction. But he, being my singular good Lord and favourable Prince, and my Lord-Cardinal my very good Friend, hath, and doth clearly excuse me in thy Lewdness, and do rather lament thy Folly, than malign thee, and hath advis'd an Order to be taken for thee, to whom both I and you are more bound, than we conceive of. I pray to God, that this may be a sufficient Admonition unto thee, to use thy self more wisely hereafter; for assure
thy

thy self, that if thou dost not amend thy Prodigality, thou wilt be the last Earl of our House; For thy natural Inclination, thou art Masterful and Prodigal, to consume all that thy Progenitors have with great travel gather'd and kept together with Honour: But, having the King's Majesty my singular good Lord, I trust (I assure thee) so to order my Succession, that thou shalt consume thereof but a little.

For I do not intend (I tell thee) truly to make thee Heir, for (thanks be to God) I have more Boys, that I trust will use themselves much better, and prove more like to wise and honest Men, of whom I will chuse the most likely to succeed me.

The Earl doth intend to disinherit him.

Now, good Masters and Gentlemen, (quoth he) unto us it may be your Chances hereafter, when I am dead, to see those Things that I have spoken to my Son prove as true as I now speak them; yet in the meantime I desire you all to be his Friends, and tell him his Faults in what he doth amiss, wherein you shall shew your selves friendly to him; and so I take my leave of you: And, Son, go your ways unto my Lord your Master, and serve him diligently. And so parted, and went down into the Hall, and so took his Barge.

He speaks to the Ser- vants.

He goes to
the King.

The Con-
tract be-
tween Lord
Piercy and
Mrs. *Anne*
Bullen dis-
solved.
She much
displeased
thereat.

She is dis-
charged
the Court.

Then, after long and large debating the Matter about the Lord *Piercy's* Assurance to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, it was devised, that the Contract should be infringed, and dissolved; and that the Lord *Piercy* should marry one of the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Daughters. And so indeed, not long after, he did, whereby the former Contract was broken and dissolv'd, wherewith Mrs. *Anne* was greatly displeas'd, promising, that if ever it lay in her Power, she would do the Cardinal some Displeasure, which indeed she afterwards did. But yet he was not altogether to be blamed, for he did nothing but what the King commanded; whereby the Lord *Piercy* was charged to avoid her Company. And so was she for a time discharged the Court, and sent home to her Father, whereat she was much troubl'd and perplex'd. For all this time she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose. But we may see, when Fortune doth begin to frown, how she can compass a Matter of Displeasure, thro' a far-fetch'd Mark: Now therefore of the Grudge how it began, that in process of time wrought the Cardinal's utter Destruction.

Oh

Oh Lord, what a great God art thou, that workest thy Wonders so secretly, that they are not perceiv'd, until they be brought to pass and finish'd.

Attend now, good Reader, to this Story following, and note every Circumstance, and thou shalt at the end perceive a wonderful Work of God against such as forget him and his Benefits.

Therefore, I say, consider after this my Lord *Piercy's* troublesome Business was over, and all things brought to an end; then Mrs. *Anne Bullen* was again admitted to Court, where she flourish'd in great Estimation and Favour, having always a prime Grudge against my Lord-Cardinal for breaking the Contract between the Lord *Piercy* and herself, supposing it had been his own Device and no others. And she at last, knowing the King's Pleasure, and the depth of his Secrets, then began to look very haughtily and stout, lacking no manner of rich Apparel or Jewels that Money could purchase.

Her admittance again to Court.

It was therefore imagin'd by many thro' the Court, that she being in such Favour, might do much with the King, and obtain any Suit of him for her Friends,

Queen Catherine's
Patience.

Friends. All this while, she being in this estimation in all Places, there was no doubt but good Queen *Catherine*, having this Gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by Report, and saw with her Eyes, how all things tended against her good Ladiship, altho' she seem'd neither to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, nor the King, to carry any Spark of Discontent, but accepted all things in good part, and with great Wisdom and much Patience resembled the same, having Mrs. *Anne Bullen* in more Estimation for the King's sake, than when she was with her before, declaring herself indeed to be a very patient *Grissel*, as by her long Patience in all her Troubles shall hereafter most plainly appear. For the King was now so enamour'd of this young Gentlewoman, that he knew not how sufficiently to advance her. This being perceiv'd by all the great Lords of the Court, who bore a secret Grudge against my Lord-Cardinal, for that they could not rule in the Kingdom as they would for him, because he was *Dominus fac totum* with the King, and rul'd as well the great Lords, as the mean Subjects; whereat they took an occasion to work him

him out of the King's Favour, and consequently themselves into more Estimation.

And, after long and secret consultation with themselves how to bring this Matter to pass, they knew very well, that it was somewhat difficult for them to do absolutely of themselves; wherefore they perceiving the great Affection and Love the King bare to Mrs. *Anne Bullen*, supposing in their Judgments, that she would be a fit Instrument to bring their earnest Intentions to pass; therefore they often consulted with her to that purpose, and she having both a very good Wit, and also inward Grudge and Displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, was ever as ready to accomplish their Desires, as they were themselves; wherefore there was no more to do but only to imagine an Occasion to work their Malice by some pretended Circumstances. Then did they daily invent divers Devices how to effect their purpose, but the Enterprize thereof was so dangerous, that tho' they would fain have attempted the Matter with the King, yet durst they not, for they knew the great Zeal the King did bear unto the Cardinal, and this they knew very well,

A Plot of the Nobility against the Cardinal.

well, that if the Matter they should propound against him was not grounded upon a just and urgent Cause, the King's Love was such towards him, and his Wit such withal, that he could with his Policy vanquish all their Enterprises, and then after that, requite them in the like nature, to their utter ruine.

The Cardinal endeavours to get her Favour.

Therefore they were compell'd to forbear their Plots till they might have some better Ground to work upon. And now, the Cardinal perceiving the great Zeal the King bore to this Gentlewoman, framed himself to please her, as well as the King: To that end therefore he prepares great Banquets and Feasts to entertain the King and her at his own House; in the all this while dissembling the secret Grudge in her Breast: Now the Cardinal began to grow into wonderful Inventions, not heard of before in *England*, and the Love between this glorious Lady and the King grew to such perfection, that divers things were imagin'd, whereof I forbear here to speak, until I come to the proper Place.

Then began a certain Grudge between the French King and the Duke of *Burbon* to break out; insomuch that the Duke being

being now at variance with the House of France, was compelled for Safeguard of his Life to fly, and forsake his Country, fearing the King's Malice and Indignation.

The Cardinal having Intelligence hereof, contrived that the King our Sovereign Lord should obtain the Duke to be his General in his Wars against the French King, with whom our King had then an occasion of War, and the rather, because the Duke of *Burbon* was fled to the Emperor to invite him unto a like Purpose, where he moved the King in this Matter.

A Plot of the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Burbon* fled to the Emperor.

And after the King was advis'd thereof, and conceiv'd the Cardinal's Invention, he mused more and more of this Matter, until it came into a Consultation amongst the Council; so that it was concluded that an Embassador should be sent to the Emperor about this Matter: And it was further concluded, that the King and Emperor should joyn in those Wars against the French King; and that the Duke of *Burbon* should be the King of *England's* Champion and General in the Field, who had a Number of good Soldiers, over and besides the Emperor's Army, which was not small, and that the King should pay the

King *Henry* joyneth his Forces with the Emperor against the French King.

The Duke the King of *England's* General.

the Duke monthly Wages for himself and his Retinue.

For which purpose *John Russel*, who was afterwards created Earl of *Bedford*, lay continually beyond the Seas in a secret Place, both to receive Money from the King, and to pay the same monthly to the Duke; so that the Duke began the Wars with the French King in his own Territories and Dukedom, which the King had gotten into his own Hands, being not perfectly known to the Duke's Enemies, that he had any Aid from our Sovereign Lord: And thus he wrought the French King's great Displeasure, inasmuch that the French King was constrained to prepare a present Army, and in his own Person to resist the Duke's Power. And Battle being joined, the King drove him to take *Pavia*, a strong Town in *Italy*, with his Host of Men for his Security, where the King encamped himself wonderfully strong, intending to close the Duke within the Town, lest he should issue out, and Skirmish with him.

The French King in his Camp sent secretly into *England* a private Person (being a very witty Man) to treat of a Peace between his Master, and our Sovereign Lord,

The French King in Person with an Army.

The Duke flies to *Pavia*, and is there Besieged by the French King.

The French Embassador treats of Peace with *England*.

Lord, his Name was *John Fokin*, who was kept as secretly as might be, no Man having Intelligence of his arrival; for he was no French-man born, but an Italian, a Man of no great estimation in *France*, nor known to be much in his Master's Favour, but taken to be a Merchant; and for his subtil Wit, was elected to treat of such an Embassage as the French King had given him in Commission.

This *Fokin* was secretly convey'd to *Richmond*, and there staid until such time as the Cardinal resorted thither to him, where, after *Easter-Term* was ended, he kept his Feast of *Whitsontide* very solemnly; in which Season my Lord-Cardinal caused this *Fokin* divers times to dine with him, who seem'd to be both Witty and of good Behaviour; he continu'd long in *England* after this, till at the last (as it should seem) he had brought the Matter which he had in Commission to pass: Whereupon the King sent out immediately a Restraint unto Sir *John Russel*, that he should retain that Month's Pay still in his Hands, until the King's Pleasure should be further made known, which should have been

Command
sent to Sir
John Russel
to detain
the King's
Pay.

been paid to the Duke, being then encamp'd within the Town of *Pavia*. For want of which Money the Duke and his Men were much dismay'd, when they saw no Money come, as it was wont to do; and being in this dangerous case, where Victuals began to be scant, and very dear, they imagin'd many ways what should be the reason that the King's Money came not; some said this, and some said that, mistrusting nothing less than the true Cause thereof.

The Duke
and his Sol-
diers in ex-
tream
want.

Now the Duke and his Soldiers were in great Misery for want of Victuals and other Necessaries, which they could by no means get into the Town; hereupon the Captains and Soldiers began to grudge and murmur, being, for want of Victuals, all like to perish; and, being in this Extremity, came before the Duke, and said, *Sir, we must of Force and Necessity yield to our Enemies; and better were it for us so to do, than to starve like Dogs.*

The Duke's
loving Ad-
vice.
A general
Consent.

But when the Duke heard this, he replied, with weeping Tears, *Sirs, (quoth he) you have prov'd your selves valiant Men, and of noble Hearts in this Service; and for your Necessity, whereof I my self do participate, I do not a little lament:*

But

But I shall desire you, as you are noble in Heart and Courage, so to take Patience for two or three Days, and if Succour come not then from the King of England, (as I doubt nothing less) I will then consent to you all to put Ourselves and Lives unto the Mercy of our Enemies. Whereunto they all agreed, and tarried till two Days were past, expecting Relief from the King. Then the Duke, seeing no Remedy, call'd his noble Captains and Soldiers before him, and Weeping, said, You Noblemen and Captains, we must yield our selves unto our Enemies, or else famish; and to yield the Town and Ourselves, I know well the Cruelty of our Enemies; as for my part, I pass not for their Cruelties, for I shall suffer Death (I know very well) most cruelly, if I come once into their Hands: It is not therefore for my self that I do lament, it is for your sakes, it is for your Lives, and for the Safeguard of your Persons, for so that you might escape your Enemies Hands, I would willingly suffer Death: Good Companions, and noble Soldiers, (I do require you all) considering the miserable Calamities and Dangers we are in at this present, to sell our Lives most dearly, rather than to be murder'd like Beasts: There-
E fore,

The Duke's
subtil De-
vice.

fore, if you all consent with me, we will take upon us this Night to give our Enemies Assault, and by that means we may either escape, or else give them an Overthrow; for it were better to die in the Field like Men, than to live Prisoners miserably in Captivity: To which they all agreed.

Then (quoth the Duke) you all perceive the Enemies Camp is strong, and there is no Way to enter upon them but one, and that Entry is planted with great Ordnance and strength of Men, so that it is impossible to attain to our Enemies, that Way to fight with them in their Camp; and also now of late you perceive they have had but small doubt of us, in regard they have kept but slender Watch.

Therefore my Advice is, there shall issue out of the Town, in the dead time of the Night, from us a certain Number of you, that be the most likely to assault the Camp, and they shall give the Assault secretly against the Place of the Entry, which is most strong and invincible, which Force and valiant Assault shall be to them of the Camp so doubtful, that they will turn the Strength of the Entry, that lieth over against your Assault, to beat you from your Purpose. Then will I enter out at the Postern-gate,
and

and come to the Place of their Strength newly turn'd, and there, e'er they be aware, will I enter and fight with them in the Camp, and win their Ordnance, which they have newly turn'd, and beat them with their own Pieces, and then may you come and joyn with me in the Field. So this Device pleas'd them all wonderful well, and they did then prepare themselves all that Day for that Device, and kept themselves secret and close, without any Noise or Shot of Pieces in the Town, which gave the Enemy the less fear of the Assault; for at Night they went all to their Tents, and couch'd quietly, not mistrusting what after happen'd; so, in the dead of the Night, when they all were at rest, the Assaultants issu'd out of the Town, and there, according to the Duke's Appointment, they gave so cruel and fierce an Assault, that they in the Camp had much ado to withstand them. And then (as the Duke before declar'd) they within were compell'd to turn the Shot that lay at the Entry against the Assault: Then issu'd out the Duke, and with him about 15 or 1600 Men or more, secretly in the Night. The Enemy being ignorant of his coming until he enter'd the Field, and at his en-

They issue out in the Night.

The Duke issues out with 15 or 1600 Men.

He flew the
Enemies,
and took
the Guns.

He won
the Field.

He intend-
ed to sack
Rome, but
was there
slain.

try, he took all the Ordnance that lay there, and flew the Gunners; then charged the Pieces against the Enemies, and flew them wonderfully, and cut down their Tents and Pavilions, and murther'd many therein e'er they were aware of his coming, suspecting nothing less than his Entry, so that he won the Field e'er the King could arise; so the King was taken in his Lodging, before he was dress'd. And when the Duke had won the Field, the French King taken, and his Men slain, his Tents robb'd and spoil'd, and his Coffers searcht, the Duke of *Bourbon* found the League under the Great Seal of *England*, newly made between the King of *England* and the French King, whereby he perceiv'd the Impediment of his Mony, which shou'd have come to him from the King, having, upon due search of this Matter, further Intelligence, that all this Business was devis'd by the Cardinal of *England*. Whereupon the Duke conceiv'd such Indignation against the Cardinal, that he went immediately to *Rome*, and there intended to sack the Town, and to have taken the Pope: But at the first Assault of the Town, the Duke was the first Man that was there slain,

slain, notwithstanding the Captains continu'd their Assaults. And at last many of the Town fled with the Pope to the Castle of *Angelo*, where he continu'd in great Calamity.

I have written this History more at large, because it was thought of all this Mischiefe, wherefore you may see whatsoever a Man doth purpose, be he Prince or Prelate, yet God dispatcheth all things at his Pleasure and Will, it being a Folly for any wise Man to take upon him any weighty Enterprize of his own Will, without calling upon God for his Grace and Assistance in all his Proceedings.

I have seen Princes, either when they would call a Parliament, or any other great Assembly, that they would first call to God most reverently for his Grace therein; and now I see the contrary, as it seems they trust more to their own Minds and Wills, than to God's good Grace, and even thereafter oftentimes do their Matters take effect: Wherefore, not only in this History, but divers others, may be perceiv'd most evident Examples; yet I see no Man almost in Authority or high Estate regard the same, which is the greater Pity, and the more

to be lamented. Now here I desist to speak any further of this Matter; and to proceed to others.

Upon the taking of the French King, there were divers Consultations and various Opinions amongst the Council: Some hold that our Sovereign Lord the King could invade the Realm of *France*, he might easily Conquer the same, for as much as the King with the most part of the Noblemen of *France* were in Captivity. Some said again, That the King our Master ought to have had the French King Prisoner, forasmuch as he was taken by our King's Champion, and Captain-General, the Duke of *Burbon* and the Emperor. Insomuch that the King was advised thereby, to occasion a War against the Emperor, because he kept the King of *France* out of our King's Possession, with divers Imaginations and Devices as their Fantasies served, which were too long here to relate.

Easie to
Invade
France.
King *Henry*
ought to
have the
French
King Cap-
tive.

Divers Em-
bassadors
from *France*
to King
Henry, to
take Order
for their
King's Re-
lease.

Thus were they in long Consideration, whereof every Man in the Court talked as his Fancy served him, until at the last, divers Embassadors from the Realm of *France* came to the King our Lord, desiring him to take Order with the Empe-
ror,

ror, for the French King's Delivery, as his Highness' Wisdom should think best, wherein my Lord Cardinal bore great Rule. So that after great Deliberation and Advice taken, it was thought good by the Cardinal, that the Emperor should deliver the French King out of his Ward, upon sufficient Pledges.

And afterwards it was thought meet, that the King's two Sons (that is to say) the *Dolphin* and the Duke of *Orleans* shou'd be delivered in Hostage for Security of the Emperor; and the King our Sovereign Lord, upon all such Demands and Requests as should be demanded of the French King, as well by the Emperor, as by our Sovereign Lord.

The Cardinal lamenting the French King's Captivity, and the Pope's great Adversity (who yet remain'd in the Castle *Angelo*) either as Prisoner, or else for Defence against his Enemies, endeavour'd and labour'd all that he could with the King and his Council, to take some Order for the Quietness of them both.

The Cardinal endeavoureth the Peace of the Pope and the French King.

At the last, as you heard before, divers of the great States and Lords of the Council with my Lady *Anne*, lay in con-

tinual wait to spy a convenient Occasion to take the Cardinal in a Snare.

The Council advised the Cardinal to go of the Embassage to France.

Therefore they consulted with the Cardinal, and inform'd him, That they thought it a necessary time for him to take upon him the King's Commission, to travel beyond the Seas, and by his Wisdom to compass a present Peace, amongst these great Princes and Potentates; encouraging him thereto, and alledging, That it was more meet for his Wisdom, Discretion, and Authority, to bring so weighty a Matter to pass, than any other within this Realm: Their Intent was no other but to get him from the King, that they might adventure by the help of their chief Mistresses, to deprave him unto the King, and so in his Absence bring him into his Disgrace, or at the least, to be in less Estimation.

This was a Plot.

The Cardinal doth prepare for his Journey.

Well, the Matter was so handled, that the Cardinal was commanded to prepare himself for the Journey which he took upon him, but whether willingly or not, I cannot say. But this I know, that he made so short abode after the perfect Resolution thereof, that he caused all things to be prepar'd speedily for his Journey: And every one of his Servants were appointed

pointed that should attend him in the same.

When all things were concluded and provided for his Journey, he advanced forwards in the Name of God. My Lord had with him such of the Lords and Bishops as were not of the Conspiracy.

Then marched he forward from his new House at *Westminster* through all *London*, over *London-bridge*, having a great many Gentlemen in a Rank before him in Velvet-Coats, and the most part of them with Chains of Gold about their Necks. And all his Yeomen followed him with Noblemen, and great Mens Servants all in Orange-tawny Coats, and the Cardinal's Hat with *T.* and *C.* for *Thomas Cardinal*, Embroider'd upon them, as well upon his own Servants Coats, as all the rest of the Gentlemen; and his Sumpter-Mules which were Twenty and more in Number: And when all his Carriages and Carts, and other his Train were passed before, he rode very sumptuously like a Cardinal, with the rest of his Train on his Mule, with his Spare-Mule, and his Spare-Horse covered with Crimson Velvet, and Gilt Stirrops, following him. And before him he had his
Two

See his Mag-
nificence.

Two great Silver Crosses, his Two Pillars of Silver; the King's Broad Seal of *England*, and his Cardinal's Hat, and a Gentleman carrying his Ballance, otherwise called his Cloak-bag, which was made of fine Scarlet all embroider'd very richly with Gold. Thus he passed thro' *London*, as I said before, and all the way in his said Journey, he was thus furnished, having his Harbingers in every place before, which prepar'd Lodgings for him and his said Train.

The first Journey he made, was two Miles beyond *Debtford* in *Kent*, unto Sir *Richard Wiltshire's* House, the rest of his Train were lodged in *Debtford*, and in the Country thereabouts.

The next Day he march'd to *Roche-ster*, where he lay in the Bishop's Palace, and the rest were lodged in the City.

The third Day he rode from thence to *Feversham*, and there lodged in the Abbey, and his Train in the Town, and some about in the Country.

He came to
Canterbury.

The fourth Day he rode to *Canterbury*, where he was kindly entertain'd by the Bishop of the City, and there he continued four or five Days. In which season was the Jubilee, and a great Fair in the Town,

Town, by reason it was the Feast of St. Thomas, their Patron; upon which Day there was a solemn Procession, wherein my Lord Cardinal was in his Legantine Ornaments with his Hat upon his Head, who commanded the Monks and the Quire to sing the Latin after this sort: *Sancta Maria ora pro Papa nostra Clemente*, and in this manner perused the Latin through: My Lord Cardinal kneeling at a Stool before the Quire-door, prepar'd for him, with Carpets and Cushions: All the Monks and the Quire stood in the Body singing the Litany. At which time I saw my Lord Cardinal weep tenderly, the which James, I, and others conceiv'd to be for Grief, that the Pope was in such Calamity and Danger of the Lance Knights.

The Cardinal commandeth the Monks to pray for the Pope.

The Cardinal Wept.

The next Day I was sent with Letters from my Lord, to a Cardinal in *Callis* in Post, so that I was the same Night in *Callis*. At my Arrival, I found standing upon the Peer without the Lanthorn-gate, all the Council of the Town, to whom I deliver'd up my Message, and my Letters, before I enter'd the Town; where I lay until my Lord came thither, who arriv'd two Days after my coming thither, before

He arrived at *Callis*.

fore Eight of the Clock in the Morning, and was receiv'd of all the noble Officers and Council of the Town, and the Major of the Staple with Procession, the Clarks being in rich Copes, having many rich Crosses.

He gave the
People Par-
don.

In the Lanthorn-gate, a Stool with Cushions and Carpets was set for him where he kneeled, and made his Prayers: At which time they fenced him in with Seizures of Silver, and sprinkled Water; that done, they passed on before him in Procession, until he came unto St. *Mary's* Church; where, at the High Altar, turning him to the People he gave them his Benediction and Pardon; and then he repair'd with a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen to a place in the Town, call'd the *Chequer*, where he kept his House so long as he abode in the Town, going immediately into his naked Bed, because he was somewhat troubled with Sicknes, by reason of his Passage by Sea.

That Night he call'd unto him Mons^r *de Bees*, Captain of *Bulloign*, with divers other Gallants and Gentlemen, who had dined with him that Day, and having some further Consultation with my Lord
Cardinal,

Cardinal, he and the rest of the Gentlemen departed again for *Bulloign*.

Thus my Lord was daily visited with one or other of the French Nobility.

When all his Train and Carriage was landed, and all things prepar'd for his Journey, his Grace call'd all his Noble-men and Gentlemen into the Privy-chamber, where, being assembl'd before him, he said, *I have call'd you hither to declare unto you, that I would have you both consider the Duty you owe to me, and the Good-will I seemblably bear to you for the same: Your Intendment of Service is to further the Authority I have by Commission from the King; which diligent Observance of yours I will hereafter recommend to his Majesty: As also to shew you the Nature of the French Men, and withal to instruct you with Reverence, you shall use me for the high Honour of the King's Majesty, and to inform you how you shall entertain and accompany the French Men, when you meet at any time.*

The Cardinal calls all his Followers into his Privy-chamber.

The Cardinal's Instructions to his Followers.

Concerning the first Point, You shall understand, for divers weighty Affairs of his Graces, and for meer advancement of his Royal Dignity, he hath assign'd me in this Journey to be his Lieutenant; what Reverence there-

therefore belongeth to me for the same, I will shew you :

Their Duty
to him ex-
pressed.

By Virtue therefore of my Commission and Lieutenantship, I assume and take upon me to be esteem'd in all Honour and Degrees of Service as unto his Highness is meet and due, and that by me nothing be neglected that to his State is due and appertinent ; for my part, you shall see, that I will not omit one jot thereof : Therefore one of your chief Causes of your Assembly at this time is to inform you, that you be not ignorant of your Duty in this ; I wish you therefore, as you would have my Favour, and also charge you all in the King's Name, that you do not forget the same in Time and Place, but that every of you do observe his Duty to me, according as you will at your Return avoid the King's Indignation, or deserve his Highness's Thanks ; the which I will set forth at our Return, as each of you shall deserve.

The Na-
ture of the
French
Men.

Now to the second Point, The Nature of the French Men is such, that at their first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as if they had known you by long Acquaintance, and will commune with you in their French-tongue, as if they knew every Word ; therefore use them in a kind
man-

manner, and be as familiar with them as they are with you; if they speak to you in their Natural Tongue, speak to them in English; for if you understand not them, no more shall they you. Then, speaking merrily to one of the Gentlemen, being a Welsh Man, Rice, (quoth he) speak thou Welsh to them; and doubt not but thy Speech will be more difficult to them than their French shall be to thee. Moreover, he said unto them all, let your Entertainment and Behaviour be according to all Gentlemen in Humility, that it may be reported, after our departure from thence, That you were Gentlemen of very good Behaviour and Humility; that all Men may know, you understand your Duties to your King, and to your Master: Thus shall you not only obtain to Yourselves great Commendations and Praises, but also greatly advance your Prince and Country. Now, being admonish'd of these things, prepare your selves against to Morrow, for then we purpose to set forward.

Therefore we his Servants, being thus instructed, and all things being in a readiness, proceeded forwards the next Day, being Mary Magdalen's Day, my Lord Cardinal advanc'd out of Callis with such a Number of Black-coats as hath been
fel-

The Cardinal and his Train go from Callis.

His Troops
three in
Rank, ex-
tended
three Quar-
ters of a
Mile.

feldom seen ; with the Embassador went
all the Peers of *Callis* and *Groyns* ; all o-
ther Gentlemen, besides those of his Train,
were garnish'd with black Velvet-coats
and Chains of Gold. Thus pass'd he for-
ward with his Troop, before three in a
Rank, which Compass extended three
quarters of a Mile in length, having his
Crosses and all other his accustom'd glo-
rious Furniture carri'd before him, as I
have formerly related, except the Broad-
Seal, the which he left with Dr. *Taylor*,
then *Master of the Rolls*, until his return.

The Cardi-
nal of *Lor-
rain* meets
my Lord.

Captain of
Picardy.

Thus passing on his Way, he had
scarce gone a Mile, but it began to rain
so vehemently, that I have not seen the
like for the time, which endur'd, until
we came to *Bulloign*, and, e'er we came
to *Standingfield*, the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, a
goodly young Gentleman, gave my Lord
a Meeting, and receiv'd him with much
Joy and Reverence, and so pass'd forth
with my Lord in Communication, until
we came near the said *Standingfield*, which
is a religious Place, standing between the
English, French, and Imperial Domi-
nions, being a Neuter, holding of neither
of them. Then there we waited for my
Lord *le Count Brian*, Captain of *Picardy*,
with

with a great number of Stradigats or Arboncies, standing in Array in a great Piece of green Oats, all in Harness upon light Horses, passing on with my Lord in a Wing into *Bulloign*, and so after into *Picardy*; for my Lord doubted that the Emperor would lay some Ambushment to betray him; for which Cause he commanded them to attend my Lord, for the Safety of his own Person, to conduct him from the Danger of his Enemies.

The French King sent a Convoy.

Thus rode he accompani'd, until he came nigh to *Bulloign*, within an English Mile, where all the worshipful Citizens of *Bulloign* came and met him, having a learn'd Man that made an Oration in Latin to him, unto the which my Lord made Answer; and that done, *Monf. de Bees*, Captain of *Bulloign*, with his Retinue, met him on Horse-back with all his Assembly. Thus he marched into the Town, lighting at the Abbey-gate; from whence he was convey'd into the Abbey with Procession; and there they presented him with the Image of our Lady, commonly called our Lady of *Bulloign*, where was always great Offerings: That done, he gave his Blessing to the People, with certain Days of Pardon: Then went he into the Abbey to

His Entertainment in *Bulloign*.

F

his

his Lodging ; but all his Train were lodg'd in the high base Town.

Also at *Muterel*.

A Latin Oration.

Pageants made for Joy.

His Entertainment at *Aboville*.

The next Day, after he had heard Mass, he rode to *Muterel*, where he was in like manner saluted by the Worshipful of the Town, all in Livery alike, where also a learn'd Oration was made to him in Latin, which his Grace answer'd again in Latin: And, as he enter'd in at the Gate, there was a Canopy of Silk, imbroider'd with like Letters as his Men had on their Coats; and, when he was alighted, his Foot-men had it as due to their Office. There was also made Pageants for Joy of his coming, who was call'd in the French Tongue, whither ever he rode or came, *Le Cardinal de Patifagus*, and in Latin *Cardinalus Patifagus*, who was accompani'd all that Night with the Gentlemen of the Country thereabouts.

The next Day he took his Journey towards *Aboville*, where he was in like manner entertain'd, and convey'd into the Town, and most honourably welcom'd with divers kinds of Pageants, both costly and wittily contriv'd to every turning of the Streets, as he rode thro' the Town, having a Canopy born over him, richer than at *Muterel*, and so convey'd him to his Lodging,

Lodging, which was a fair House, newly built with Brick; at which House the French King *Louis* was married to the King's Sister, which was married after to the Duke of *Suffolk*. In this Town of *Abbeville* he remain'd eight or nine Days, where resorted unto him divers of the French King's Council, every Day continually feasting, and entertaining him and the other Lords.

At the time of his departing out of the Town, he rode to a Castle beyond the Water, call'd by some, *Le Channel Perce-queine*, standing and adjoining to the said Water upon a great Hill and Rock, within the which there was a College of Priests; the Situation whereof was much like to the Castle of *Windsor* in *England*, and there he was receiv'd with a solemn Procession, conveying him first to the Church, and then to the Castle upon the Bridge over the Water of *Some*, where King *Edward* the Fourth met with the French King, as you may read at large in the *Chronicles of England*.

My Lord was no sooner seated in his Lodging, but I heard, that the French King would come that Day to the City of *Amiens*, which was not above six En-

I left my Lord and rode to *Amiens* to see the King.

First came
Madam
Regent.

Two Days
after the
King, at-
tended by
Switzers,
Burgoni-
ans, French
and Scot-
tish.

glish Miles from thence; and being desirous to see his coming thither, I took with me two of my Lord's Gentlemen, and rode presently thither; and, being but Strangers, we took up our Lodging at the Sign of the *Angel*, directly over-against the West-door of the Cathedral-Church *de Nostre Dame*, where we staid in expectation of the King's coming: And about Four of the Clock came Madam Regent, the King's Mother, riding in a very rich Charriot, and with her within was the Queen of *Navarre*, her Daughter, attended with a hundred or more of Ladies and Gentlewomen following, every one riding upon a white Palfrey; also her Guard, which was no small Number. And within two Days after the King came in with a great Shot of Guns; and there was divers Pageants made only for Joy of his coming; having about his Person, and before him, a great Number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in three Companies: The first were of *Switzers* and *Burgonians*, with Guns; the second were *French Men*, with Bows; the third were *le Carpe-fall Scottish Men*, who were more comely Persons than all the rest; the *French* Guard and *Scottish* had all one Livery, being apparell'd with
rich

rich Coats of white Cloath, with a rich Guard of Silver Bullion, of a handful broad: The King came riding on a rich Jennet, and did alight at the said great Church, and was convey'd with Procession to the Bishop's Palace, where he was lodg'd. The next Morning I rode again to *Picegueny*, to attend upon my Lord; and, when I came, my Lord was ready to go on Horseback, to ride towards *Amiens*; and, passing on his Way, he was saluted by divers noble Personages, making him; Orations in Latin; to whom my Lord made answer *ex tempore*.

Then was Word brought him, that the King was ready to meet him, wherefore he had no other Shift, but to light at an old Chappel, that stood hard by the Highway, and there he newly apparell'd himself in rich Array; and so mounted again upon another Mule, very richly trapped, with a Foot-cloath of Crimson-velvet, purl-ed with Gold, and fring'd about the Edges, with a Fringe of Gold very costly, his Stirrops of Silver guilt, the Bosses of the same, and the Checks of his Mule's Bit, were all guilt with fine Gold; and by that time he was mounted again in this gorgeous manner, the King was come very near,

The Cardinal put on rich Raiments.

within less than an English Quarter of a Mile, his Guard standing in Array upon the top of an high Hill, expecting my Lord's coming; to whom my Lord made as much hast as conveniently he could, until he came within a pair of Buts length, and there he staid. The King perceiving that, caus'd Mons. *van de Mount* to issue from him, and to ride to my Lord Cardinal, to know the Cause of his tarrying; and so Mons. *van de Mount*, being mounted upon a very fair Jennet, took his Race with his Horse, till he came even to my Lord, and then he caus'd his Horse to come aloft twice or thrice so near my Lord's Mule, that he was in doubt of his Horse, and so alighted, and in humble Reverence did his Message to my Lord; that done, he repair'd to the King.

The French King and the Cardinal meet.

And then the King advanc'd forwards, seeing my Lord do the like, and in the Mid-way they meet, imbracing each other with amiable Countenances. Then came into the Place all Noblemen and Gentlemen on both Parts, who made a mighty Press.

They march, the Cardinal on the King's right hand.

Then the King's Officers cry'd, *Penant de la vant; March, march*: So the King, with the Lord Cardinal on his right Hand, rode

rode towards *Amiens*; every English Gentleman being accompani'd with another of *France*: The Train of these two great Princes was two Miles in length, that is to say, from the Place of their meeting unto *Amiens*, where they were nobly receiv'd with Guns and Pageants, until the King had brought my Lord to his Lodging, and then departed for that Night. The King being lodg'd in the Bishop's Palace: And the next Day, after Dinner, my Lord rode with a great Train of English Noblemen and Gentlemen unto the Court to the King, at which time the King kept his Bed, yet nevertheless my Lord came into his Bed-chamber, where, on the other side of the Bed, sat the King's Mother, and on the other side, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, accompani'd with divers other Gentlemen of *France*; and, after some Communication, and drinking of Wine with the King's Mother, my Lord departed and return'd to his own Lodging, accompani'd with divers other Lords and Gentlemen.

Thus continu'd my Lord at *Amiens*, and also the King 14 Days, feasting each other divers times; and there, one Day at Mass, the King and my Lord receiv'd the Holy Sacrament, as also the Queen Regent and

The King
and Cardi-
nal at *A-
miens* 14
Days.

They re-
moved
from *Ami-
ens* to *Camp-
pain*.

the Queen of *Navarre*: After that, it was determin'd, that the King and my Lord should remove, and so they rode to a City call'd *Campain*, which was more than 20 Miles from *Amiens*; unto which Town I was sent to provide Lodging for my Lord; and in my travel, I having occasion to stay by the Way, at a little Village, to shoe my Horse, there came to me a Servant from the Castle, there perceiving me to be an English Man, and one of my Lord Legate's Servants (as they then call'd my Lord) desir'd me to go into the Castle to the Lord his Master, whom he thought would be very glad to see me; to whom I consented, because I desir'd Acquaintance with Strangers, especially with Men of Authority and honourable Rank; so I went with him, who conducted me to the Castle, and at my first entrance, I was among the Watch-men, who kept the first Ward, being very tall Men and comely Persons, who saluted me very kindly; and knowing the Cause of my coming, they advertis'd their Lord and Master; and forthwith the Lord of the Castle came out unto me, whose Name was Monf. *Crooke-ly*, a Noble Man born; and, at his coming, he imbrac'd me, saying, That *I was heartily*

The King
and Cardi-
nal invited
to a Castle.

tily welcome, and thank'd me, that was so gentiel as to visit him and his Castle; saying, that he was preparing to meet the King, and my Lord Cardinal, and to invite them to his Castle: And, when he had shew'd me the Strength of his Castle and the Walls, which were 14 Foot broad, and I had seen all the Houses, he brought me down into a fair inner Court, where his Jennet stood ready for him, with 12 other of the fairest Jennets that ever I saw, especially his own, which was a Mare; which Jennet, he told me, he had 400 Crowns offer'd for her: Upon these 12 Jennets were mounted 12 goodly Gentlemen, call'd *Pages of Honour*; they rode all bare-headed, in Coats of Cloath of God, guarded with Black Velvet, and they had all of them Boots of red Spanish Leather.

Then took he his Leave of me, commanding his Steward, and other of his Gentlemen, to conduct me to his Lady to Dinner; so they led me up to the Gatehouse, where then their Lady and Mistress lay for the time that the King and the Cardinal should tarry there. And, after a short time the Lady *Crookesly* came out of her Chamber in the Dining-room, where I attended her coming, who did receive me

The Cardinal's Servant nobly entertain'd.

The Lady
salutes him
herself.

me very nobly, like herself, she having a Train of 12 Gentlemen that did attend on her: *Forasmuch* (quoth she) *as you are an English Gentleman, whose Custom is to kiss all Ladies and Gentlewomen in your Country without Offence, yet it is not so in this Realm; notwithstanding, I will be so bold as to kiss you, and so shall you salute all my Maids.* After this we went to Dinner, being as nobly serv'd as ever I saw any in *England*, passing all Dinner-time in pleasing Discourses.

And, shortly after Dinner, I took my leave, and was constrain'd that Night to lye short of *Campaign*, at a great wall'd Town call'd *Moundrodrey*, the Suburbs whereof my Lord of *Suffolk* had lately burn'd; and early in the Morning I came to *Campaign*, being *Saturday*, and Market-day, where, at my first coming, I took up my Inn over-against the Market-place, and being set at Dinner in a fair Chamber that look'd out into the Street, I heard a great Noise and Clattering of Bills; and looking out, I saw the Officers of the Town bringing a Prisoner to Execution, and with a Sword cut off his Head. I demanded what was the Offence; they answer'd me, For killing of Red Deer in the Forrest near adjoining. And incontinently they held the
poor

poor Man's Head upon a Pole in the Market-place, between the Stag's Horns, and his four Quarters set up in four Places of the Forrest.

Having prepar'd my Cardinal's Lodgings in the great Castle of the Town, and seen it furnish'd, my Lord had the one half assign'd, and the King the other half; and in like manner they divided the Gallery between them; and in the midst thereof, there was made a strong Wall with a Window and a Door, where the King and my Lord did often meet and talk, and divers times go one to the other thro' the same Door. Also there was lodged in the same Castle Madam Regent, the King's Mother, and all the Ladies and Gentlewomen that did attend on her.

Not long after came the Lord Chancellor of *France*, a very witty Man, with all the King's grave Councillors, where they took great Pains daily in Consultation. At which time I heard my Lord Cardinal fall out with the Chancellor of *France*, saying to his Charge, that he went about to hinder the League, which was before his coming concluded upon, by the King our Sovereign Lord, and the French King their Master; insomuch, that my Lord sto-

The French King, the Lord Cardinal, and the Queen Regent lodged all in one Castle.

The Cardinal fell out with the Chancellor of *France*.

The Cardinal
departs
in Anger.

Great
Means used
to bring
him again
to Consul-
tation.

stomached him stoutly, and told him, *It was not he that should Infringe the amiable Friendship. And if the French King his Master, being there present, would follow his the Chancellor's Counsel, he should not fail shortly after his return to feel the Smart, what it was to maintain War against the King of England, and thereof he should be well assured.* Infomuch that his angry Speech and bold Countenance, made them all doubt how to quiet him to the Council, who was then departed in a great Fury.

Now here was Sending, here was Coming, here was Intreating, and here was great Submission and Intercession made unto him to reduce him to his former Communication, who would in no ways Relent, until Madam Regent came to him her self, who handled the Matter so well, that she brought him to his former Communication; and by that means, he brought all things to pass, that before he could not compass, which was more out of Fear than Affection the French King had to the Matter in hand; for now he had got the Head of all the Council under his Girdle.

The next Morning early, after this Conflict, the Cardinal rose about Four of the Clock, and sat him down to write Letters
into

into *England* unto the King, commanding one of his Chaplains to prepare him ready; inſomuch that the Chaplain ſtood ready in his *Vestures* until Four of the Clock in the Afternoon: All which ſeaſon, my Lord never roſe to eat any Meat, but continually writ Letters with his own Hand; and about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon he made an end of Writing, commanding one *Chriſtopher Gunner*, the King's Serjeant, to prepare himſelf without delay to ride Poſt into *England* with his Letters, whom he diſpatcht away e're he drank. That done, he went to Maſs and Mattins, and other Devotions with his Chaplain, as he was accuſtomed to do; and then went to walk in a Garden the ſpace of an Hour and more, and then ſaid Evening-Song, and ſo went to Dinner and Supper, making no long ſtay, and ſo went to Bed.

The Cardinal writes Letters into *England*.

He ſends Poſt into *England*.

The next Night following, my Lord cauſed a great Supper to be made, or rather a Banquet for Madam Regent, and the Queen of *Navarre*, and other noble Perſonages, Lords and Ladies. At which Supper was Madam *Lewis*, one of the Daughters of *Lewis* the laſt King, whoſe Siſter lately dyed; theſe two Siſters were of their Mother Inheritors of the Dutchy of *Britain*.
And

The Cardinal Feaſts two Queens.

And forasmuch as King *Francis* had married one of the Sisters, by which he had one Moyety of the said Dutchy, he kept the said Madam *Lewis*, the other Sister, without Marriage, to the Intent the whole Dutchy might descend to him, or his Successors after his Death, for lack of Issue of her.

In comes
the French
King, and
the King of
Navarre.

The French
King much
taken with
my Lord's
Musick.

But now let us return to the Supper or Banquet, where all those noble Personages were highly feasted. And at the middest of the said Banquet, the French King and the King of *Navarre* came suddenly in, who took their Places in the lowest part thereof; there was not only Plenty of fine Meats, but also much Mirth and Solace, as well in merry Communication, as also the Noise of my Lord's Musick, who plaid there all that Night so cunningly, that the two Kings took great Delight therein, insomuch that the French King desir'd my Lord to lend them unto him for the next Night. And after the Supper or Banquet ended, the Lords fell to dancing, amongst whom one Madam *Fontaine* had the Praise. And thus pass'd they the most part of the Night e'er they parted.

The next Day the King took my Lord's Musick, and rode to a Nobleman's House, where

where was some living Image, to whom he had vow'd a Night's Pilgrimage. And to perform his Devotion, when he came there, (which was in the Night) he danc'd and caus'd others to do the same; and the next Morning he return'd to *Campaign*.

The King, being at *Campaign*, gave order that a wild Boar should be lodg'd for him in the Forrest, whither my Lord Cardinal went with him to see him hunt the wild Boar, where the Lady Regent, with a number of Ladies and Damsels were standing in Chariots, looking upon the Toil; amongst these Ladies stood my Lord Cardinal, to regard the Hunting in the Lady Regent's Chariot. And within the Toil was the King with divers Ladies of *France*, ready furnish'd for the high and dangerous Enterprize of hunting of this perilous wild Swine.

The French King hunt-
ed the wild
Boar.

The King, being in his Doublet and Hose, all of Sheeps colour Cloth, richly trimm'd, in his Slip a Brace of very great Gray-hounds, who were arm'd, as their manner there is, to defend them from the Violence of the Beast's Tusks. And the rest of the King's Gentlemen that were appointed to hunt, were likewise in their Doublets and Hose, holding each of them

a very sharp Boar's Spear ; then the King commanded the Keepers to Uncouch the Boar ; and that every Person within the Toil should go to a Standing, among whom were divers Gentlemen of *England*.

The Boar presently issu'd out of his Den, and being pursu'd by a Hound, came into the Plain, where he staid a while gazing upon the People, and the Hound drawing near him, he espy'd a Bush upon a Bank ; under the Bush lay two French Men, who fled thither, thinking there to be safe ; but the Boar smelling them, and thrusting his Head into the Bush, these two Men came away from thence, as Men use to fly from the Danger of Death.

Then was the Boar, by Violence of the Hunters, driven from thence, who ran strait to one of my Lord's Foot-men, being a very tall Man, who had in his Hand an English Javelin, with which he defended himself a great while ; but the Boar continu'd foaming at him with his great Tusks ; at the last, the Boar broke in sunder his Javelin, so that he was glad to draw his Sword, and therewith stood upon his guard, until the Hunters came and rescu'd him, and put the Boar once again to flight to another Gentleman of *England*, one Mr. Rat.

Ratcliff, who was Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, now Earl of *Essex*, who by his Boar's Spear rescued himself. There were many other Passages, but I forbear Prolixity, and return to the Matter in Hand.

Many Days were spent in Consultation, and Expectation of *Christopher Gunner's* Return, who was formerly sent Post into *England* with Letters, as I said before: At last he returned with Letters, upon receipt whereof, my Lord prepared with all Expedition to return to *England*.

Preparation to return to *England*.

That Morning that my Lord intended to remove, being at Mass in his Closet, he consecrated the Chancellor of *France*, a Cardinal, and put his Hat on his Head, and his Cap of Scarlet, and then took his Journey, and return'd into *England* with all the Expedition he could, and came to *Sayne*, and was there nobly entertain'd of my Lord *Stanes*, who was Captain of that Place, and from thence went to *Callis*, where he stay'd a while for shipping of his Goods; And in the mean time he establish'd a Work to be there kept for all Nations: But how long, or in what sort it continued, I know not; for I never heard of any great Good it did, or of any Assembly of Merchants, or Traffick of Merchandize that were brought thither for so great and mighty a

The Cardinal that Morning he came away, made the Chancellor of *France* a Cardinal.

G

Matter,

Matter, as was intended for the Good of the Town: This being establiſh'd, he took shipping for *Dover*, and from thence rode Post to Court.

He arrives
at the
Court.

The King being then in his Progreſs at Sir *Henry Wyat's* House in *Kent*, of whom I, and other of his Servants, thought he ſhould have been nobly entertain'd, as well of the King Himſelf, as of the Nobles: But we were all deceiv'd in our Expectations: Notwithſtanding, he went immediately to the King after his return, with whom he had long talk, and continued two or three Days after in the Court, and then retir'd to his House at *Westminster*, where he remained till *Michaelmas* Term, which was within a Fortnight after, and there he exerciſed his Place of Chancellorſhip, as he had done before.

The Cardinal maketh
an Oration
in the Star-
Chamber.

And immediately after the beginning of the Term, he caus'd to be aſſembled in the Star-chamber all the Noblemen, Judges, and Juſtices of the Peace of every Shire throughout *England*, and were at *Westminster-hall* then preſent: And there he made a long Oration, declaring the Cauſe of his Embaſſage into *France*, and of his Proceedings therein, ſaying, That he had concluded ſuch an Amity and Peace, as never was heard of in this Realm, between our Sovereign Lord
the

the King's Majesty, the Emperor, and the French King; for a perpetual Peace, which shall be confirmed in Writing, under the Seals of both Realms, engraven in Gold: Offering further, That our King should receive Yearly by that Name, out of the Dutchy of Normandy, all the Charges and Losses he had sustained in the Wars.

A perpe-
tual Peace
made with
France.

And also, Forasmuch as there was a Restraint made of the French Queen's Dowry (whom the Duke of Suffolk had married) for many Years together during the Wars; it was concluded, That she should not only receive the same, according to her just Right, but also the Arrearages being unpaid, during the said Restraint, should be perfected shortly after. The Resort of Embassadors out of France, should be such a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen to confirm the same, as hath not been seen heretofore repair hither out of one Realm.

This Peace thus concluded, there shall be such an Amity between them of each Realm, and Entercourse of Merchandize, that it shall be seen to all Men to be but one Monarchy. Gentlemen and Others may travel from one Country to another, for their Recreations and Pleasure. And Merchants of either Country may Traffick safely without fear of Danger: So that this Realm shall ever after flourish.

Therefore may all English Men well rejoyce and set forth the truth of this Embassy in the Country. Now my Masters, I beseech you, and require you in the King's behalf, that you shew your selves as loving and obedient Subjects, in whom the King may much Rejoyce, &c. And so he ended his Oration, and brake up the Court for that time.

Now the great long looked for Ambassadors are arrived, being in number eight Persons of the noblest and most worthy Gentlemen in all *France*, who were nobly receiv'd from Place to Place, and so convey'd thro' *London*, to the Bishop's Palace in *Paul's Church-yard*, where they were lodg'd, to whom divers Noblemen resorted, and gave them noble Presents (especially the Mayor of the City of *London*) as Wines, Sugars, Beeves, Muttons, Capons, wild Fowl, Wax and other necessary things in abundance for the Expences of his House.

They resorted to the Court being then at *Greenwich* on *Sunday*, and were receiv'd of the King's Majesty of whom they were entertained highly.

The Embassadors
establish
our King in
the Order
of *France*.

They had a Commission to establish our King's Highness in the Order of *France*, to whom they brought, for that Intent, a Collar of fine Gold, with a Michel hanging thereat, and Robes to the said Order appertaining,

taining, which were of Blew Velvet, and richly imbroider'd, wherein I saw the King pass to the Closet, and after in the same to Mass.

And to gratifie the French King for his great Honour, he sent incontinently Noblemen here in *England* of the Order of the Garter, which Garter the Herald carried into *France* unto the French King, to establish him in the Order of the Garter, with a rich Collar and Garter, and Robes according to the same: The French Embassadors still remaining here, until the return of the English.

The King of *England* sent Embassadors into *France* to establish the French King in the Order of the Garter.

All things being then determin'd and concluded, concerning the Perpetual Peace; upon solemn Ceremonies and Oaths, contained in certain Instruments concerning the same; It was concluded there should be a solemn Mass sung in the Cathedral Church of *Paul's* in *London*, by the Cardinal, the King being present at the same in his Traverse, to perform all things determined.

And for the Preparation thereof, there was a Gallery from the West-door of *Paul's* Church, thro' the Body of the same, up to the Quire, and so to the High Altar into the Traverse. My Lord Cardinal prepar'd himself to sing the Mass, associated

with 24 Miters of Bishops and Abbots, who attended him with such Ceremonies, as to him were then due, by reason of his Legative Prerogative.

The King of England and the French Embassador receive the Sacraments to confirm the perpetual Peace.

And after the last *Agnus*, the King rose out of the Traverse, and kneeled upon a Carpet and Cushions before the High Altar; and the like did the great Master of *France*, chief Embassador, that here presented the King's Person of *France*, between whom the Lord Cardinal divided the Blessed Sacrament, as a perfect Oath and Bond, for Security of the said Covenants, of the said Perpetual Peace.

That done, the King went again into the Traverse; this Mass being ended, which was solemnly sung both by the Quire of the same Church, and all the King's Chapel.

The Articles of Peace read by the Cardinal.

The King subscribeth and sealeth.

Then my Lord took and read the Articles of Peace openly before the King and all others, both English and French, and there, in sight of all the People, the King put his Hand to the Gold Seal, and subscrib'd with his own Hand, and deliver'd the same to the grand Master of *France*, as his Deed, who semblably did the like; that done, they departed and rode home with the Cardinal, and din'd with him, passing all the Day after in Consultation of weighty

weighty Affairs, touching the Articles and Conclusion of the said Peace.

Then the King departed to *Greenwich* by Water, at whose Departure it was concluded by the King's Device, that all the French Men should remove to *Richmond* and hunt there; and from thence to *Hampton-court*, and there to hunt likewise: And the Lord Cardinal there to make a Banquet, or Supper, or both; and from thence they should ride to *Windsor*, and there hunt: And after return to the King at *Greenwich*, and there to banquet with him before their Departure.

The French Nobility convey'd to *Richmond*.

This determin'd, they all repair'd to their Lodgings; then was there no more to do, but to make Preparation in all things for the Entertainment of this great Assembly at *Hampton-court*, at the time appointed by my Lord Cardinal; who call'd before him all his chief Officers, as Stewards, Treasurers, Clerks and Comptrolers of his Kitchen, to whom he declar'd his whole Mind touching the Entertainment of the French Men at *Hampton-court*, to whom he also gave command, neither to spare for any Cost or Expence, nor Pains to make them such a triumphant Banquet, as they might not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious Report, to the great

Honour of our King and this Realm.

Thus, having made know his Pleasure, to accomplish his Command, they sent out all the Carriers, Purveyors and other Persons to my Lord's Friends to prepare; also they sent to all expert Cooks, and cunning Persons in the Art of Cookery in *London* or else-where, that might be gotten to beautifie the noble Feast. Then the Purveyors provided, and my Lord's Friends sent in such Provision that it was a Wonder to see it. The Cooks they wrought both Day and Night in many curious Devices, where was no lack of Gold, Silver, or any other costly thing: The Yeomen and Grooms of his Wardrobe were busied in hanging the Chambers with costly Hangings, and furnishing the same with Beds of Silk and other Furniture for the same in every degree. Then my Lord sent me, being his Gentleman-usher, and two other of my Fellows to foresee all things touching our Rooms to be richly garnish'd, wherein our Pains was not small; but daily we travell'd up and down from Chamber to Chamber to see things fitted. Then wrought Joyners, Carpenters, Painters, and all other Artificers needful, that there was nothing wanting to adorn this noble Feast: There was Carriage and Re-carriage

The Rooms
richly
hung.

riage of Plate, Stuff, and other rich Imple-
ments, so that there was nothing lacking
that could be devis'd or imagin'd for the
purpose. There were also provided 280
Beds, with all manner of Furniture to
them, too long here to be related.

280 Beds
prepar'd.

The Day assign'd to the French Men
being come, they were ready assembl'd
before the Hour of their Appointment,
wherefore the Officers caus'd them to ride
to *Hannorth*, a Park of the King's within
three Miles of *Hampton-court*, there to
spend the time in hunting till Night, which
they did, and then return'd, and every of
them were convey'd to their several Cham-
bers, having in them good Fires and store
of Wine, where they remain'd till Supper
was ready.

The Chambers where they supp'd and
banquetted, were adorn'd thus: First, the
great Waiting-chamber was hung with
very rich Cloath of Arras, and so all the
rest some better than others, and furnish'd
with tall Yeomen to serve: There were
set Tables round about the Chambers, Ban-
quet-wise cover'd: Also a Cupboard gar-
nish'd with white Plate, having also in the
same Chamber four great Plates to give
the more light, set with great Lights, a
great Fire of Wood and Coals.

The or-
dering of
the Ban-
quetting-
rooms.

The

The next Chamber was the Chamber of Presence, richly hang'd also with Cloath of *Arras*, and a sumptuous Cloath of State furnish'd with many goodly Gentlemen to serve. The Tables were order'd in manner as the other were, save only the high Table was remov'd beneath the Cloath of State, towards the midst of the Chamber, with six Desks of Plate, garnish'd all over with fine Gold, saving one Pair of Candlesticks of Silver and guilt, with Lights in the same; the Cupboard was barr'd about that no Man could come very near it; for there were divers Pieces of great store of Plate to use, besides the Plates that hung on the Walls to give light, were Silver and guilt, with Wax-lights.

The French
Men con-
ducted to
Supper.

Now were all Things in readiness, and Supper fit, the principal Officers caus'd the Trumpets to blow, to warn them to Supper. Then the Officers conducted the Noblemen where they were to sup; and they being set, the Service came up in such abundance, both costly and full of Devices, with such a pleasant Noise of Musick, that the French Men (as it seem'd) were wrapt up in a heavenly Paradise. You must understand, that my Lord Cardinal was not there all this while: But the French Monsieurs were very merry, with
their

their rich Fare and curious Cates and Knacks. But before the second Course, my Lord Cardinal came in booted and spurr'd suddenly amongst them, at whose coming, there was great Joy, every Man rising from his Place, whom my Lord Cardinal caus'd to sit still and keep their Places, and being in his Riding-apparel, call'd for his Chair, and sat him down in the midst of the high Table, and was there as merry and pleasant as ever I saw him in my life.

The Cardinal comes in e're the second Course.

Presently after came up the second Course, which was above 100 several Devices, which were so goodly and costly, that I think the French Men never saw the like.

But the rarest Curiosity of all the rest, they all wonder'd at, (which indeed was worthy of Wonder) were Castles, with Images in the same, like *St. Paul's Church*, for the Model of it; there were Beasts, Birds, Fowls, Personages most excellently made, some fighting with Swords, some with Guns, others with Cross-bows, some dancing with Ladies, some on Horse-back with compleat Armour, juggling with long and sharp Spears, with many more strange Devices, which I cannot describe: Amongst all, I noted, there was a Chesse-board made of

of Spice Plate, with Men of the same, and of good Proportion.

And, because the French Men are very expert at that Sport, my Lord Cardinal gave that same to a French Gentleman, commanding that there should be made a good Case to convey the same into his Country.

The Cardinal drinks
a Health to
to both
Kings.

Then call'd my Lord for a great Bowl of Gold, fill'd with Hippocras, and, putting off his Cap, said, *I drink a Health to the King, my Sovereign Lord; and next, unto the King your Master.* And, when he had drunk a hearty Draught, he desir'd the grand Master to pledge him a Cup, which Cup was worth 500 Marks; and so all the Lords in order pledg'd these great Princes.

Then went the Cup merrily about, so that many of the French Men were led to their Beds; then went my Lord into his Privy-chamber, making a short Supper, or rather a short Repast; and then return'd again into the Presence-chamber amongst the French Men, behaving himself in such a loving sort, and so familiarly towards them, that they could not sufficiently commend him.

And while they were in Communication and Pastime, all their Livery were serv'd to their

their Chambers, every Chamber had a Basson and Ewer of Silver, and a great Live-ry-pot, with Plenty of Wine, and sufficient of every thing.

Thus furnish'd was every Room about the House; when all was done, then were they conducted to their Lodgings.

In the Morning, after they had heard Mass, they staid and din'd with my Lord, and so departed towards *Windsor*: And, as soon as they were gone, my Lord return'd to *London*, because it was the midst of the Term.

You must conceive, the King was privy to this magnificent Feast, who then intended far to exceed the same; which I refer to the French Mens return. Now the King had given Command to his Officers to provide a far more sumptuous Banquet for the Strangers, than they had at the Cardinal's, which was not neglected. After the return of these Strangers from *Windsor*, which Place they much commended for the Scituation thereof, the King invited them to the Court where they din'd; and after Dinner, they danc'd, and had their Pastime till Supper-time.

Then was the Banquet-chamber in the little Yard at *Greenwich* furnish'd for the Entertainment of these Strangers, to which Place

His Majesty invites the Strangers to the Court.

Place they were conducted by the greatest Personages then being in the Court, where they did both sup and banquet; but to describe to you the Order hereof, the Variety of costly Dishes, and the curious Devices, my weak Ability and shallow Capacity would much eclipse the Magnificence thereof: But thus much take notice of, that altho' that Banquet at *Hampton court* was marvelous sumptuous, yet this Banquet excell'd the same as much as Gold doth Silver in value; for my part I never saw the like.

In the midst of the Banquet, there was turning at the Barriers of lusty Gentlemen in compleat Armor very gorgious on foot, and the like on Horseback; and, after all this, there was such an excellent Interlude made in Latin, that I never heard the like, the Actors Apparel being so gorgious, and of such strange Devices, that it passeth my poor Capacity to relate them.

This being ended, there came a great Company of Ladies and Gentlewomen, the chiefeft Beauties in the Realm of *England*, being as richly attir'd as Cost could make, or Art devise, to set forth their Gestures, Proportions, or Beauties, that they seem'd to the Beholders, rather like celestial Angels than terrestrial Creatures, and in my Judgment worthy of Admiration,
with

with whom the Gentlemen of *France* danc'd mask'd, every Man chusing his Lady as his Fancy serv'd: That done, and the Masquers departed, came in another Masque of Ladies and Gentlewomen, so richly attired, as I cannot express: These Ladies Masquers took each of them one of the French Men to dance: And here note, that these noble Women spoke all of them good French; which delighted them much to hear the Ladies speak to them in their own Language.

Thus triumphantly did they spend the whole Night, from five of the Clock at the Night, unto two or three of the Clock in the Morning; at which time the Gallants drew all to their Lodgings to take their Rest.

As neither Health, Wealth, nor Pleasure, can always last, so ended this triumphant Banquet; which being past, seemed in the Morning to the Beholders as a fantastick Dream.

Now, after all this solemn Banquetting, they prepar'd with Bag and Baggage to return; and thereupon repair'd to the King, and in order every Man took his leave of his Majesty and the Nobles, by whom the King sent his princely Pleasure and Commendations

Their Preparation for *France*.

They take
leave of
the King.

mendations to the King their Master, thanking them for their Pains: And, after great Communication had with the great Master of that Embassage, he bad them Adieu.

Then they came to *Westminster* to my Lord Cardinal to do the like, of whom he received the King's Reward, which I shall hereafter relate.

The King's
Reward.

First, Every Man of Honour and Estimation had Plate, some to the Value of 2 or 300 *l.* and some of 400 *l.* besides the great Gifts before receiv'd of his Majesty; as Gowns of Velvet with rich Furs, great Chains of Gold, and some had goodly Horses of great Value, with divers other Gifts of great Value, which I cannot call to remembrance; but the worst of them had the Sum of 20 Crowns. And thus, being nobly rewarded, my Lord, after humble Commendations to the French King, bad them Farewel, and so they departed.

And also of
the Cardi-
nal.

The next Day they were convey'd to *Dover* to the Sea-side, with all their Furniture, being accompanied with many English young Gallants; and what Report of their Royal Entertainment, they made in their own Country, I never heard.

After

After this began new Matters, ^{The King's}
 which troubled the heads and ima- ^{Love to}
 ginations of all the Court, where- ^{Mrs. Anne}
 with all their stomacks were full, ^{Bolloigne.}
 but little digestion, viz. the long
 concealed Affection of the King
 to Mistress Anne Bulloigne now
 brake out, which his Majesty dis-
 closed to the Cardinal, whose of-
 ten Perswasions on his knees took
 no effect.

My Lord thereupon being com-
 pelled to declare to his Majesty his
 opinion and wisdom in the advance-
 ment of the King's desires, thought
 it not safe for him to wade too
 far alone, or to give rash judg-
 ment in so weighty a matter, but
 desired leave of the King to ask
 Counsel of Men of ancient and fa-
 mous Learning both in the Divine
 and Civil Laws.

Now this being obtained, he by
 his Legatin Authority sent out his
 Commissions for the Bishops of this
 Realm, who not long after assem-
 bled all at *Westminster* before my

H

Lord

Lord Cardinal. And not only these *Prelates*, but also the most learned Men of both *Universities*, and some from divers Cathedral Colleges in this Realm, who were thought sufficiently able to resolve this doubtful Question.

The
King's
Case dis-
cussed by
an Assem-
bly of Bi-
shops.

At this learned assembly was the King's Case consulted of, debated, argued and judged from day to day. But in conclusion when these ancient Fathers of Law and Divinity parted, they were all of one Judgment, and that contrary to the expectation of most Men. And I heard some of the most famous and learned amongst them say, the King's Case was too obscure for any Man, and the Points therein were doubtful to have any Resolution therein, and so at that time with a general consent departed, without any Resolution or Judgment.

In this Assembly of Bishops, and divers other learned Men, it was thought very expedient that the King should send out his Commissioners into all
Uni-

Universities in Christendom, as well here in *England*, as Foreign Regions, there to have this Case argued substantially, and to bring with them from thence every definition of their opinions of the same, under the Seal of every University, and thus for this time were their determinations.

And thereupon divers Commissioners were presently appointed for this Design: So some were sent to *Cambridge*, some to *Oxford*, some to *Lorraine*, others to *Paris*, some to *Orleance*, others to *Padua*, all at the proper Costs and Charges of the King, which in the whole amounted to a great Sum of Money: And all went out of this Realm, besides the Charge of the Embassage to those famous and notable Persons of all the Universities, especially such as bare the Rule, or had the Custody of the University Seals, were fed by the Commissioners with such great Sums of Money, that they did easily condescend to their Requests, and grant their Desires.

H 2

By

By reason whereof all the Commissioners returned with their Purpose, furnished according to their Commissions, under the Seal of every several University, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principal Parties. Insomuch, that ever after the Commissioners were had in great estimation, and highly advanced, and liberally rewarded far beyond their worthy deserts. Notwithstanding they prospered, and the matter went still forward, having now as they thought, a sure Staff to lean upon.

The Cardinal
sends a-
gain for
the Bi-
shops.

These Proceedings being declared unto my Lord Cardinal, he sent again for the Bishops, to whom he declared the effect of these Commissioners Pains, and for assurance thereof, shewed them the Instruments of each University, under their several Seals; and the Business being thus handled, they went again to consultation how things should be ordered.

At last it was concluded, that it was very meet, the King should send unto the Pope his Holiness, the opinions of both Universities of *England*, and also Foreign Universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common Seals. And it was also thought fit the opinions of the worthy Prelates of *England* should be sent to the Pope, comprised in an Instrument which was not long time in finishing.

Nor was it long after the Ambassadors were assigned for this design, who took their Journey accordingly, having certain Instruments, that if the Pope would not thereupon consent to give Judgment definitively in the King's Case, then to require another Commission from his Holiness, to be granted to his Legate, to establish a Court here in *England*, for that Purpose only, to be directed to my Lord Cardinal Legate in *England*, and to Cardinal *Campaign* Bishop of *Bath*, which the King gave him at a certain

tain time, when he was sent Embassador hither from the Pope his Holiness, to determine and rightly judge according to their Consciences.

The Pope doth grant their Suit. To the which, after long suite made, and for the good will of the said Cardinal, the Pope granted their Suit.

Then they returned into *England*, relating unto the King that his Grace's pleasure should be now brought to pass substantially, being never more likely, considering the state of the Judges.

The Pope sends his Legate into *England*. Long was the expectation on both sides for the coming over of the Legate from Rome, who at last arrived in *England* with his Commission, and being much troubled with the Gout, his Journey was long and tedious ere he could get to London, who should have been most solemnly received at Black Heath; but he desired not to be so entertained with Pomp and Vain-glory; and therefore he came very privately on his own Horse, without Temple-Bar, called Bath-Place, where he lay:

The

The House being furnished of all manner of Provision of my Lords. So that after some deliberation and consultation in the ordering of the King's Business now in hand, by his Commission, and Articles of his Ambassage, which being read, it was determined, that the King and the good Queen his lawful Wife, should be judged at Bridewell, and in Black-fryars, and some place thereabouts, the Court to be kept for the disputation and determination of the causes and differences between the King and the Queen, where they were to repair before these two Legates, who sat as Judges; before whom the King and Queen were cited and summoned to appear: Which was a strange sight, and the newest devise that ever was heard or read of in any Story or Chronicle: A King and a Queen to be compelled to appear in a Court as common Persons within their own Realm and Dominions, and to abide the Judgments and Decrees of their Subjects, being a Prerogative belonging to the Royal Diadem.

It is a wonderful thing to consider the strength of Princes Wills when they are bent to have their Pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable perswasions will serve the turn; how little do they regard the dangerous sequels, that may ensue as well to themselves as to their Subjects. And amongst all things there is nothing that makes them more wilful then Carnal Love, and various affecting of voluptuous desires, wherein nothing could be of greater experience then to see what inventions were furnished, what Laws were Enacted, what costly Edifices of noble and ancient Monasteries were there overthrown, what diversities of Opinions then arose, what Extortions were then committed, how many learned and good Men were then put to Death, and what alterations of good ancient Laws, Customs and Charitable Foundations were turned from the Relief of the Poor, to the utter Destruction and Desolation, almost to the Subversion, of this Noble Realm. It

It is a thousand pities to understand the things that since have happened to this Land, the proof whereof hath taught all us *English* Men lamentable Experience. If Mens Eyes be not blind they may see, and if their Ears be not stopped they may hear; and if pity be not exiled, their Hearts may relent and lament at the sequel of this inordinate Love, although it lasted but a while. O *Lord God with-hold thine indignation from us.*

You shall understand as I said before, that there was a Court erected at *Black-fryars, London*, where these Two Cardinals sat as Judges: Now will I describe unto you the order of the Court.

First, there were many Tables and Benches set in manner of a Consistory, one Seat being higher than another for the Judges aloft, above them three degrees high was a Cloth of Estate hanged, and a Chair Royal all under the same, wherein sat the King, and some distance off sat the Queen,

Queen, and at the Judges Feet sat the Scribes and Officers for the execution of the Process; the chief Scribe was Doctor *Stevens*, after Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Apparatour, who was called Doctor of the Court, who was one *Cooke* of *Westminster*. Then before the King and the Judges sat the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* Doctor *Warham*, and all other Bishops, there stood at both ends within, Counsellors learned in the Spiritual Laws, as well on the King's side, as the Queen's side. Doctor *Sampson*, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*, and Doctor *Hall* after Bishop of *Worcester*, with divers others, and Proctors in the same Law, were Doctor *Peter*, who was afterwards chief Secretary, and Doctor *Tregunmill*, with divers others.

King's
Counsel.

Queen's
Counsel.

The Bi-
shop of
Rocheſter
loſt his
Head for
the
Queen's
ſake.

Now on the other ſide, there were Counſel for the Queen, Doctor *Fiſter* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Doctor *Standiſh*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, in *Wales*, Two brave noble Divines, eſpecially the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, a very godly Man, whoſe Death
many

many Noble-men, and many worthy Divines much lamented, who lost his Head about this Cause ere it was ended upon *Tower-hill*, as also another ancient Doctor, called Doctor *Ridley*, a little Man but a great Divine. The Court being thus ordered as is before expressed, the Judges commanded the Cryer to proclaim silence, whilst the Commission was both read to the Court and to the People there assembled: That done, Silence being again Proclaimed, the Scribes commanded to call King *Henry* of *England*, whereunto the King answered and said, *here*; Then called he again the Queen of *England*, by the Name of *Katherine Queen of England*, come into the Court, &c. Who made no answer thereunto, but rose immediately out of her Chair where she sate: And because she could not come to the King directly, by reason of the distance, therefore she came round about the Court to the King, and kneeled down at his feet

The King
and Queen
called by
the Cryer.

feet saying these Words in broken
English as followeth, viz.

The
Queen on
her knees
pleads for
her self.

Sir, quoth she, I beseech you do
me Justice and Right, and take
some pity upon me, for I am a poor
Woman and a Stranger, born out of
your Dominions, having here no
indifferent Counsel, and less assu-
rance of Friendship: Alas Sir, how
have I offended you, what offence
have I given you, intending to ab-
ridge me of Life in this sort, I take
God to witness, I have been to you
a true and loyal Wife, ever conform-
able to your Will and Pleasure, ne-
ver did I contrary or gain-say your
Mind, but always submitted my
self in all things, wherein you had
any delight or dalliance, whether it
were little or much, without grudg-
ing, or any sign of discontent: I
have loved for your sake all Men
whom you have loved, whether I
had cause or not, were they Friends
or Foes; I have been your Wife
this Twenty years, by whom you
had many Children: And when I
first

first came to your Bed, I take God to witness, I was a Virgin, whether it were true or no, I put it to your Conscience, if there be any cause that you can alledge, either of dishonesty, or of any other matter, lawful to put me from you, I am willing to depart with shame and rebuke, but if there be none, then I pray you let me have Justice at your Hands.

‘ The King your Father was a She com-
mendeth
K. Henry
the 7th.
 ‘ Man of such an excellent wit in
 ‘ in his time, that he was account-
 ‘ ed a Second *Solomon*, and the
 ‘ King of *Spain* my Father *Ferdi-*
 ‘ *nand*, was taken for one of the
 ‘ wisest Kings that reigned in *Spain*
 ‘ these many years. So they were
 ‘ both wise Men, and Noble Prin-
 ‘ ces; and it is no question but
 ‘ they had wise Counsellors of ei-
 ‘ ther Realm, as be now at this
 ‘ day, who thought at the Marri-
 ‘ age of you and me, to hear what
 ‘ new Devices are now invented a-
 ‘ gainst me, to cause me to stand to
 ‘ the

110 *Memoirs of Cardinal VVoollsey.*

‘ the order of this Court. And I
‘ conceive you do me much wrong;
‘ may you not condemn me for not
‘ answering, having no Counsel but
‘ such as you have assigned me: You
‘ must consider, that they cannot be
‘ indifferent on my part, being your
‘ own Subjects, and such as you
‘ have made choise of out of your
‘ own Counsel, whereunto they are
‘ privy, and dare not disclose your
‘ Pleasure.

‘ Therefore I most humbly be-
‘ seech you to spare me until I know
‘ how my Friends in *Spain* will ad-
‘ vise me: But if you will not, then
‘ let your Pleasure be done.

And with that she rose, making a
low Courtesie to the King, and de-
parted from thence: All the People
thinking she would have returned
again to her former Seat; but she
went presently out of the Court,
leaning upon the arm of one of her
Servants, who was her general Re-
ceiver, one Mr. *Griffith*.

The

Memoirs of Cardinal VVoollsey. 111

The King seeing that she was ready to go out of the Court, commanded the Cryer to call her again by these Words, *Katherine Queen of England, come into Court.* Lo, quoth Mr. Griffith, you are called again: Go on quoth she, it is no matter, It is no indifferent Court for me, therefore I will not tarry; go on your way; and so they departed without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other Court after that.

The King seeing she was departed thus, and considering her words, said to the *Audience* these few words in effect.

Forasmuch, quoth he, as the Queen is gone, I will in her absence declare unto you all: She hath been to me a true obedient Wife, and as comfortable as I could wish or desire; she hath all the vertues and good Qualities that belong to a Woman of her Dignity, or in any of meaner estate, her conditions will well declare the same.

She goes
out of the
Court.

The
King's
commen-
dations of
his Queen
in her ab-
sence.

Then

Then quoth my Lord Cardinal, I humbly beseech your Highness to declare unto this Audience, whether I have been the first and chief mover of this matter unto your Highness, or no, for I am much suspected of all Men.

The King
declares
himself
to the
whole
Court.

My Lord Cardinal quoth the King, you have rather advised me to the contrary, than been any mover of the same. The special cause that moved me in this matter, is a certain scruple that pricked my Conscience, upon certain words spoken by the Bishop of *Bayon* the French Ambassador, who came hither to consult of a Marriage between the Princess our Daughter, the Lady *Mary*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, Second Son to the King of *France*, and upon Resolution, and Determination, he desired respite to advertise the King his Master thereof, whether our Daughter *Mary* should be legitimate, in respect of the Marriage with this Woman, being sometimes my Brother's Wife, which

which Words (I pondering) begot
such a scruple in my Conscience that
I was much troubled at it; where-
by I thought my self in danger of
God's heavy Displeasure and Indig-
nation, and the rather because he sent
us no Issue Male, for all the Issue
Male that I have had by my Wife
dyed incontinently after they came
into the World, which caused me to
fear God's Displeasure in that parti-
cular. Thus my Conscience being
tossed in that wave of troublesome
doubts, and partly in despair, to
have any other Issue then I had al-
ready by this Lady my now Wife:
It behoved me to consider the Estate
of this Realm, and the Danger it
stands in, for lack of a Prince to
succeed me, I thought it therefore
good, in release of this mighty bur-
den on my Conscience, as also for
the quiet estate of this Realm, to
attempt a Tryal in this Law herein:
Whether I might lawfully take ano-
ther Wife, without stain of carnal
Concupiscence, by which God may
send

The chief
point in
the King's
Case.

The King
affirms he
hath no
dislike of
the Queen.

send more Issue, in case this my first Copulation was not good: I not having any Displeasure in the Person or Age of the Queen, with whom I could be well contented to continue (if our Marriage may stand with the Law of God) as with any Woman alive, in which point consisteth all the doubt that we go about, now to know by the Learned Wisdom of you our Prelates and Pastors, of this Realm and Dominion now here assembled for that purpose, to whose Consciences and Learning I have committed the Care and Judgment, according to which I will (God willing) be well contented to submit my self, and obey the same: And when my Conscience was so troubled, I moved it to you my Lord of *Lincoln* in Confession, then being my Ghostly Father: And forasmuch, as you were then in some doubt, you moved me to ask Counsel of the rest of the Bishops, whereupon I moved it to you my Lord Cardinal to have your Licence,
for.

forasmuch as you are Metropolitan,
to put this Matter in question, and
so I did to all you, my Lords, to
which you all granted under your
Seals, which is here to shew ; that
is truth, quoth the Bishop of Can-
terbury, and I doubt not, but my
Brothers will acknowledge the same.
No Sir, not so, under correction,
quoth the Bishop of Rochester, for
you have not my Hand and Seal,
No, quoth the King, is not this
your Hand and Seal, and shewed
it to him in the Instrument with
Seals ? No forsooth, quoth the
Bishop, how say you to that, quoth
the King, to the Bishop of Canter-
bury ? Sir, It is his Hand and Seal,
quoth the Bishop of Canterbury.
No, my Lord, quoth the Bishop of
Rochester, indeed you were in hand
with me to have both my Hand and
Seal, as other of the Lords had done;
but I answered, That I would ne-
ver consent to any such Act, for it
was much against my Conscience.
And therefore my Hand and Seal

The King
produceth
the Li-
cence seal-
ed by the
Cardinal
and the
rest of the
Bishops.

The Bish-
op of Rochester
doth deny
that he e-
ver sealed
or subscri-
bed.

shall never be set to such an Instrument (God willing) with many other Words to that purpose: You say truth, quoth the Bishop of *Canterbury*, such Words you used, but you were fully resolved at the last, that I should subscribe your Name, and put to your Seal, and you would allow of the same; All which, quoth the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, under correction my Lord is untrue: Well quoth the King, we will not stand in Argument with you, you are but One: And so the King arose up, and the Court was Adjourned until the next Day, at which time the Cardinals ſate again, and the Counsel on both ſides were there preſent to answer.

The Kings
Counſel al-
ledge the
Matrimo-
ny not
good nor
lawful.

The King's Counſel alledge the Matrimony not good nor lawful at the beginning, becauſe of the Carnal Copulation that Prince *Arthur* had with the Queen: This Matter was very narrowly ſcann'd on that ſide, and to prove the Carnal Copulation, they had many Reaſons and

and Similitudes of Truth, and being answered negatively again on the other side, it seem'd that all their former Allegations, were doubtful to be tryed, and that no Man knew: Yes, quoth the Bishop of *Rochester*, I know the Truth; How can you know the Truth, ^{The Qu,} quoth the Cardinal more than any ^{Counsel} other Person? Yes forsooth, my ^{speak.} Lord, quoth he, I know that God ^{Bishop of} is the Truth it self, and never saith ^{Rochester.} but Truth, and he saith thus, *Quos Deus conjunxit, Homo non separet.* And forasmuch as this Marriage was joyned and made by God to a good Intent, therefore I said I knew the Truth, and that Man cannot break upon any wilful Action that which God hath made and constituted. So much do all faithful Men know, quoth my Lord Cardinal, as well as you, therefore this Reason is not sufficient in this Case; for the King's Counsel do alledge many Presumptions to prove that it was not

1 3 lawful

lawful at the beginning, *Ergo* it was not ordained by God, for God doth nothing without a good End; therefore it is not to be doubted, but if the Pretensions be true which they alledge to be most true, then the Conjunction neither was, nor could be of God. Therefore I say unto you, my Lord of *Rochester*, you know not the Truth, unless you can avoid their Presumptions upon just Reasons.

Dr. Ridley. Then quoth Doctor *Ridley*, it is a great Shame and Dishonour to this Honourable Presence, that any such Presumptions should be alledged in this open Court: What, quoth my Lord Cardinal, *Domine Doctor Reverende*? No, my Lord, there belongs no Reverence to this Matter, for an unreverent Matter may be unreverently answered, and so left off; and then they proceeded to other Matters: Thus passed this Court from Session to Session, and Day to Day; till a certain Day the King sent for the Cardinal to *Bridewell*,

well, who went into the privy Chamber to him where he was, about an Hour, and then departed from the King, and went to *Westminster* in his Barge, the Bishop of *Carlisle* being with him, said, It is a hot Day to Day; yea, quoth the Cardinal, if you had been as well Chafed as I have been within this Hour, you would say you were very hot. My Lord no sooner came Home, but he went to Bed, where he had not lain above two Hours, but my Lord of *Wiltshire*, Mrs. *Ann Bullens* Father, came to speak with him from the King: My Lord commanded he should be brought to his Beds-side; who told him, It was the King's Mind he should forthwith go with the Cardinal to the Queen, being then at *Bridewel* in Her Chamber, and to perswade Her, through their Wisdoms to put the whole Matter into the King's own Hands, by Her Consent; which should be much better for Her Honour, then

The King
sent for
the Cardi-
nal.

The Car-
dinal re-
turns and
goes home
to Bed.

stand to the Trial at Law, and thereby be Condemn'd, which would tend much to her Dishonour and Discredit.

To perform the King's Pleasure, my Lord, said he was ready, and so prepared to go, but quoth he further to my Lord of *Wiltshire*, you and others of the Lords of the Counsel, have put fancies into the head of the King, whereby you trouble all the Realm, but at the length you will get but small thanks both of God and the World, with many other earnest Words and Reasons, which did cause my Lord of *Wiltshire* to be silent, kneeling by my Lord's beds side, and in conclusion departed.

And then my Lord rose and took his Barge, and went to *Bath-house*, to *Car. Campaines*, and so went together to *Bridewel* to the Queen's Lodgings, she being then in her Chambers of Presence, they told the Gentle-

Gentleman-Usher that they came to speak with the Queen's Grace, who told the Queen the Cardinals, were come to speak with her, then she rose up, having a Scane of Red Silk about her Neck (being at work with her Maids) and came to the Cardinals, where they stayed attending her coming, at whose approach quoth she, Alack my Lords, I am sorry that you have attended on me so long, what is your pleasures with me: If it please your Grace, quoth the Cardinal, to go to your privy Chamber, we will shew you the cause of our coming.

The Two Cardinals went on a Message from the King to the Queen.

' My Lord said she, if you have
' any thing to say to me, speak it
' openly before all these folk, for I
' fear nothing that you can say to
' me or against me, but that I am
' willing all the world should both
' see and hear it, and therefore speak
' your minds openly.

Then

The Cardinal declares the cause of their going.

Then began my Lord to speak to her in Latin: Nay my good Lord speak to me in *English*, quoth she, although I do understand some Latin, ' Forsooth, quoth my Lord, ' good Madam, if it please your ' Grace, we come both to know ' your mind what you are disposed to do in this matter, and also ' to declare to you Secretly our ' Counsels and Opinions, which ' we do for very zeal and obedience ' to your Grace.

The Queens Answer.

' My Lords, quoth she, I thank ' you for your good wills, but to ' make answer to your Requests I ' cannot so suddenly, for I was set ' amongst my Maids at work, little thinking of any such matter, ' wherein is requisite some deliberation, and a better head than mine to make answer, for I need ' Counsel in this Case which concerns me so near, and Friends ' here I have none, they are in ' Spain,

Spain, in my own Country: Al-
fo my Lords, I am a poor Woman
of too weak Capacity to answer
such Noble Persons of Wisdom as
you are, in so weighty a Matter.
And therefore I pray you be good
to me a Woman destitute of Friend-
ship here in a Foreign Region, and
your Counsel I also shall be glad
to hear, and therewith she took
my Lord by the Hand and led him
into her Privy Chamber, with
the other Cardinal, where they
stayed a while, and I heard her
Voice loud, but what she said I
know not.

This done, they went to the
King, and made a Relation unto
him of the Passages between the
Queen and them, and so they de-
parted.

This strange Case proceeded and
went forwards from Court-day to
Court-day, until it came to that,
that every Man expected to hear
Judg-

Cardinal
Campains
refused to
give Judg-
ment.

Judgment given, at which time all their Proceedings were openly read in Latin, that done, the King's Counsel at the Bar moved for Judgment, quoth Cardinal Campains, I will not give Judgment, until I have related the whole Proceedings to the Pope, whose Counsel and Commandment I will in this Case observe: The matter is too high for us to give hasty Judgment, considering the Persons and the doubtful Occasions alledged, and also whose Commissioners we are, by whose Authority we sit.

He makes
a Speech.

It is good reason therefore that we make our chief Lord of Counsel in the same before We proceed to Judgment Definitive: I came not to please for any Favour, Reward, or Fear of any Person alive, be he King or otherwise, I have no such respect to the Person, that I should offend my Conscience. And the Party Defendant will make no Answer here; but rather doth Appeal from
from

from us ; I am an old Man, both Weak and Sickly, and look every Day for Death ; what shall it avail me to put my Soul in danger of God's Displeasure to my utter Damnation, for the Favour of any Prince in this World. My being here is only to see Justice Administred according to my Conscience.

The Defendant supposeth, that we be not indifferent Judges, considering the King's High Dignity and Authority within his Realm. And we being both his Subjects, She thinks we will not do her Justice : And therefore to avoid all these *Ambiguities*, I Adjourn the Court for the Time according to the Court of *Rome*, from whence our Jurisdiction is derived : For if we should go further then our Commission doth Warrant us, it were but a folly and blame-worthy ; because then we shall be Breakers of the Orders from whom we have (as I said) our Authority derived ; and so the Court

126 *Memoirs of Cardinal Woollsey.*

Court was dissolved and no more done.

The Duke
of *Suffolk*
Confronts
the Car-
dinals.

Thereupon by the King's Com-
mandment stept up the Duke of
Suffolk, and with a haughty Coun-
tenance uttered these Words :

*It was never thus in England until
we had Cardinals amongst us. Which
Words were set forth with such Ve-
hemency, that all Men marvelled
what he intended, the Duke fur-
ther expressing some Opprobrious
Words.*

The Car-
dinals
mild An-
swer.

My Lord Cardinal perceiving his
Vehemency, soberly said, Sir, of
all Men in this Realm you have least
cause to dispraise Cardinals ; for if I
poor Cardinal had not been, you
should not at this present have had
a Head on your Shoulders, where-
with to make such a brag in dispute
of us, who wish you no harm ; nei-
ther have given you such cause to be
offended with us. I would have
you

you think, my Lord, I and my Brother with the King as much Happiness, and the Realm as much Honor, Wealth and Peace, as you, or any other Subject of what Degree soever he be within this Realm, and would as gladly accomplish his Lawful Desires.

And now my Lord, I pray you shew me, what you would do in such a Case as this, if you were one of the King's Commissioners in a Foreign Region about some weighty Matter, the Consultation whereof was very doubtful to be decided; would you not Advertise the King's Majesty e'er you went through with the same: I doubt not but you would; and therefore abate your Malice and Spight, and consider we are Commissioners for a Time, and cannot by Vertue of a Commission proceed to Judgment without the Knowledge and Consent of the Head of the Authority and License obtained from him, who is the Pope. There-

His Reason why he proceeds not to Judgment.

The Duke
Dead-
hearted,
Disconten-
ted.

Therefore do we neither more nor less then our Commission allows us: And if any Man will be offended with us, he is an unwise Man: Therefore pacifie your self, my Lord, and speak like a Man of Honor and Wisdom (or hold your Peace) speak not Reproachfully of your Friends, you best know what Friendship I have shown you: I never did reveal to any Person till now, either to mine own Praise, or your Dishonor. Whereupon the Duke went his way, and said no more, being much discontented.

The King
offended.
The Car-
dinal's
Commis-
sion his Ex-
cuse.

This Matter continued thus a long Season, and the King was in displeasure against my Lord Cardinal, because his Suit had no better Success to his Purpose.

Notwithstanding the Cardinal excused himself by his Commission which gave him no Authority to proceed to Judgment without the know-

knowledge of the Pope, who reserved the same to himself. At last they were advertised by a Post that they should take Deliberation in the Matter until his Counsel were opened, which should not be till *Bartholomew-tide* next.

The King thinking it would be too long e'er it would be determined, sent an Ambassador to the Pope to perswade him to shew so much Favour to his Majesty, as that it might be sooner determined.

On this Embassage went Doctor *Stephen Gardener*, then called by the name of Doctor *Steven*, Secretary to the King, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*. This Ambassador stayed there till the latter end of Summer, of whose return you shall hereafter hear.

Dr. Gardener sent Ambassador to the Pope.

K

Now

The Cardinal sent for to the Court.

Now the King commanded the Queen to be removed from the Court, and sent to another Place; and presently after the King rood on Progreſs, and had in his Company Miſtriſs *Anne Bulloigne*; in which time Cardinal *Campaines* made ſuit to be diſcharged, and ſent home to *Rome*: And in the interim returned Mr. Secretary, and it was concluded that my Lord ſhould come to the King to *Grafton* in *Northamptonſhire*; as alſo Cardinal *Campaines* being a ſtranger, ſhould be conducted thither by my Lord Cardinal. And ſo the next *Sunday* there were divers Opinions, that the King would not ſpeak with my Lord; whereupon there were many great Wagers laid.

Theſe two Prelates being come to Court, and lighting, expected to be received of the Great Officers as the manner was, but they found the contrary: Nevertheless becauſe the Cardinal *Campaine* was a ſtranger,

ger, the Officers met him with Staves in their hands in the outward Court, and so conveyed him to his Lodging prepared for him ; and after my Lord had brought him to his Lodging he departed, not thinking to have gone to his Chamber as he was wont to do. But it was told him he had no Lodging or Chamber appointed for him in the Court ; which News did much astonish him.

He found
but small
Content.

Sir *Henry Norris*, who was then Groom of the Stool, came unto him, and desired him to take his Chamber for a while until another was provided for him, for I assure you, quoth he, here is but little room in this House for the King, and therefore I humbly beseech your Grace accept of mine for a Season. My Lord thanking him for his Curtesie, went to his Chamber, where he shifted his Riding Apparel.

In the mean time came divers Noblemen of his Friends to welcome him to the Court, by whom my Lord was advertised of all things touching the King's Favour or Displeasure; and being thus informed of the Cause thereof, he was more able to excuse himself.

So my Lord made him ready, and went to the Chamber of Presence with the other Cardinal, where the Lords of the Counsel stood all of a row in order in the Chamber, and all the Lords Saluted them both: And there were present many Gentlemen which came on purpose to observe the Meeting and Countenance of the King to my Lord Cardinal: Then immediately after, the King came into the Chamber of Presence standing under the Cloath of State.

Great
Suppositi-
on of the
King's
Displea-
sure.

Then

Then my Lord Cardinal took Cardinal Campaine by the hand, and kneeled down before the King, but what he said unto him, I know not, but his Countenance was amiable, and his Majesty stooped down, and with both his Hands took him up, and then took him by the Hand, and went to the Window with him, and there talked with him a good while.

Then to have beheld the Countenance of the Lords and Noble Men that had laid Wagers, it would have made you smile, especially those that had laid their Money that the King would not speak with him.

Thus were they deceived, for the King was in earnest Discourse with him, insomuch that I could hear the King say, how can this be, is not this your Hand, and pulled a Letter out of his own Bosom and shewed the same to my Lord. And as I

perceived, my Lord so answered the same, that the King had no more to say ; but said to my Lord, go to your Dinner, and take my Lord Cardinal to keep you Company, and after Dinner I will speak further with you, and so they departed. And the King that Day Dined with Mistres *Anne Bulloigne* in her Chamber.

Then was there set up in the Presence Chamber a Table for my Lord, and other Lords of the Counsel, where they Dined together; and sitting at Dinner, telling of divers Matters, the King should do well, quoth my Lord Cardinal, to send his Bishops and Chaplains home to their Cures and Benefices. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord of *Norfolk*, and so it were meet for you to do also. I would be very well contented therewith, quoth my Lord, if it were the King's Pleasure to License me with his Graces Leave to go to my Cure at *Winchester*: Nay, quoth my

my Lord of *Norfolk*, to your Benefice at *York*; where your greatest Honor and Charge is. Even as it shall please the King, quoth my Lord Cardinal; and so they fell upon other Discourses. For indeed the Nobility were loath he should be so near the King, as to continue at *Winchester*. Immediately after Dinner they fell to Counsel till the Waiters had also Dined.

I heard it reported by those that waited on the King at Dinner, that *Mistress Anne Bulloigne* was offended as much as she durst, that the King did so graciously entertain my Lord Cardinal. Saying, Sir, Is it not a marvailous thing to see into what great Debt and Danger he hath brought you, with all your Subjects? How so, quoth the King? Forsooth, quoth she, there is not a Man in all your whole Realm of *England*, worth a hundred Pounds, but he hath indebted you to him (meaning of Loan, which the King

Mrs. Anne Bulloigne offended for the Cardinals Entertainment.

She com-
plains of
him.

had of his Subjects. Well, well, quoth the King, for that matter there was no blame in him, for I know that matter better then you, or any else.

Nay, quoth she, besides that, what Exploits hath he wrought in several Parts and Places of this Realm, to your great Slander and Disgrace? There is never a Nobleman, but if he had done half so much as he hath done, were well worthy to loose his Head. Yea, if my Lord of *Norfolk*, my Lord of *Suffolk*, my Father, or any other Man had done much less then he hath done, they should have lost their Head e'er this.

Then I perceived (quoth the King) you are none of my Lord Cardinal's Friends, why Sir, quoth she, I have no cause, nor any that love you? No more hath your Grace, if you did well consider his indirect and unlawful doings.

By

By the time the Waiters had dined, and took up the Table, and so for that time ended their Communication.

You may percieve by this how the old malice was not forgotten: but begins to kindle and be set on fire, which was stirred by his ancient Enemies, whom I have formerly named in this Treatise.

The King for that time departed from Mrs. *Anne Bulloign*, and came to the Chamber of Presence, and called for my Lord, and in the great Window had a long Discourse with him, but of what I know not, afterwards the King took him by the hand and led him into the Privy Chamber, and sat in Consultation with him, all alone without any other of the Lords, till it was dark night, which blanked all his Enemies very sore, who had no other way but by Mistress *Ann Bulloign*,
in

in whom was all their trust and affiance, for the accomplishment of their Enterprises, for without her they feared all their Purposes would be frustrate.

Now at Night was warning given me, that there was no room for my Lord to lodge in the Court, so that I was forced to provide my Lord a Lodging in the Country, about *Easton*, at one Mr. *Empston's House*, where my Lord came to supper by Torch-light, being late before my Lord parted from the King, who willed him to resort to him in the Morning, for that he would talk further with him about the same matter, and in the Morning my Lord came again, at whose coming the King's Majesty was ready to ride, willing my Lord to consult, with the Lords in his absence, and said he would not talk with him, commanding my Lord to depart with Cardinal *Campaine* who had already taken his leave of the King.

The King
would not
talk with
the Car-
dinal.

This

This suddain departure of the Kings, was the especial labour of Mistress *Ann Bulloign*, who rode with him purposely to draw him away, because he should not return till the departure of the Cardinals. The King rode that Morning to view a piece of ground, to make a Park of, which was afterwards, and is at this time, called *Harewel Park*, where Mistress *Ann* had provided him a place to dine in, fearing his return before my Lord Cardinal's departure.

So my Lord rode away after Dinner with Cardinal *Campaine*, who took his Journey towards *Rome*, with the King's Reward, but what it was I am not certain.

After their departure it was told the King, that Cardinal *Campaine* was departed, and had great Treasure with him of my Lord Cardinals of *England* to be conveyed in
great

great Sums to *Rome*, whether they surmised he would secretly repair out of this Realm. Insomuch that they caused a Post to ride after the Cardinal to search him, who overtook him at *Callis*, and stayed him until search was made, but there was found no more then was received of the King for a Reward.

They
search the
Cardinal
at *Callis*.

Now after Cardinal *Campaine* was gone, *Michaelmas-Term* drew on, against which time my Lord Cardinal repaired to his House at *Westminster*, and when the Term began, he went into the Hall in such manner as he was accustomed to do, and sate in the Chancery, being then Lord Chancellor of *England*, after which day he never sat more, the next Day he stayed at home for the coming of my Lord of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, who came not that Day but the next: And did declare unto my Lord, that it was the King's Pleasure he should surrender up the great *Seal* of *England* into their

The King
sends for
the great
Seal.

their Hands, and that he should depart unto *Asbur*, which is a House near unto *Hampton-Court* belonging unto the Bishoprick of *Winchester*.

The Cardinal demanded of them to see their Commission that gave them such Authority, who answered again, they were sufficient Commissioners, and had Authority to do no less from the King's own Mouth, notwithstanding, he would in no wise agree to their demand in that behalf, without further knowledge of their Authority, telling them that the great Seal was delivered to him by the King's own Person, to enjoy the Ministration thereof, together with the Chancellorship during the term of his Life, whereof for Surety he had the King's Letters Patents to shew, which matter was much debated between him and the Dukes with many great Words, which he took patiently, insomuch that the Dukes were fain to depart without their purpose at that time,
and

He refuseth to deliver up the broad Seal.

and to return to *Windsor* to the King, and the next day they returned to my Lord with the King's Letters, whereupon in obedience to the King's Command, my Lord delivered to them the broad Seal, which they brought to *Windsor* to the King.

The Cardinal sets his House in order.

Then my Lord called his Officers before him, and took account of all things they had in their charge, and in his Gallery were set divers Tables, upon which were laid divers and great store of rich stuffs, as whole pieces of Silk of all Colours, Velvets, Sattins, Musks, Taffaties, Grogarams, Scarlets, and divers Rich Commodities: Also there were a Thousand Pieces of fine Hollands, and the Hangings of the Gallery with Cloth of Gold, and Cloth of Silver, and Rich Cloth of Bodkin of divers Colours, which were hanged in expectation of the King's coming.

Also

Also of one side of the Gallery were hanged the Rich Suits of Copes of his own providing, which were made for Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, they were the Richest that ever I saw in all my Life; Then had he Two Chambers adjoyning to the Gallery, the one most commonly called the Guilt Chamber, the other the Council Chamber, wherein were set two broad and long Tables, whereupon was set such abundance of Plate of all sorts, as was almost incredible to be believed, a great part being all of clean Gold, and upon every Table and Cup-board where the Plate was set were Books importing every kind of Plate, and every piece with the contents and the weight thereof.

Thus were all things furnished and prepared giving the charge of the said Stuff, with other things remaining in every office, to be delivered to the King, as he gave charge,
all

all things being ordered as 'is before rehearsed, my Lord prepared to depart and resolved to go by Water, but before his going, Sir *William Gascoign* being his Treasurer, came unto him, and said, Sir, quoth he, I am sorry for your Grace, for I hear you are straight to go to the *Tower* ; Is this the best Comfort, quoth my Lord, you can give to your Master in Adversity ? It hath always been your Inclination to be light of Credit, and much lighter in reporting of Lyes, I would you should know Sir *William*, and all those Reporters too, that it is untrue ; for I never deserved to come there : Although it hath pleased the King to take my House ready furnished for his Pleasure, at this time all the World should know I have nothing but it is of Right for him, and of him I received all that I have : It is therefore convenient and reason to tender the same to him again.

Then

Then my Lord with his Train of Gentlemen and Yeomen which was no small Company, took his Barge at his privy Stairs, and went by Water to *Putney*, at which time upon the Water were abundance of Boats filled with People, expecting to have seen my Lord Cardinal go to the *Tower*, which they longed to see. Oh wondring and new-fangled World, is it not a time to consider the mutability of this uncertain World! For the common People ever desire things for Novelties sake, which after turn to their small Profit or Advantage. For if you mark the sequel, they had small cause to rejoyce at his fall, I cannot see but all Men in favour are envyed by the common People, tho' they do minister Justice truly.

Thus continued my Lord at *Ashur*, 3 or 4 Weeks, without either Beds, Sheets, Table-cloaths or Dishes to eat their Meat in, or wherewith to
L buy

buy any. But there was good store of all kind of Victuals, and of Beer and Wine plenty, but afterwards my Lord borrowed some Plate and Dishes of the Bishop of *Carlisle*,

Thus continued my Lord in this strange estate till after *Alhollantide*, and being one day at Dinner; Mr. *Crumwel* told him that he ought in Conscience to consider the true and good Service, that he and other of his Servants had done him, who never forsook him in Weal nor Woe, then quoth my Lord, alas *Tom*: You know I have nothing to give you nor them; which makes me both ashamed and sorry that I have nothing to requite your faithful Services; whereupon Mr. *Cromwel* told my Lord that he had abundance of Chaplains that were preferred by his Grace to Benefices of some 1000 Pounds, and others 500 Pounds, some more and some less, and we your poor Servants who take more pains in one Days Service, than all your
idle

idle Chaplains have done in a year, and therefore if they will not impart liberally to your great indigence. it is pity they should live, and all the World will have them in indignation for their great ingratitude to their Master.

Afterwards my Lord commanded me to call all his Gentlemen and Yeomen up into the great Chamber, commanding all the Centlemen to stand on the Right Hand, and the Yeomen on the left side, at last my Lord came out in his Rochet, upon a violet Gown like a Bishop, who went with his Chaplains to the upper end of the Chamber where was a great Window, beholding his goodly number of Servants, who could not speak to them until the Tears ran down his Cheeks, which being perceived of his Servants, caused Fountains of Tears to gush out of their sorrowful Eyes in such sort as would cause my Heart to relent.

He speaks
to them
all.

At last my Lord spake to them to this effect and purpose, saying, most faithful Gentlemen, and true hearted Teomen, I much lament that in my Prosperity I did not so much for you as I might have done, and was in my power to do, I consider that if in my Prosperity I should have preferred you to the King, then should I have incurred the King's Servants displeasure, who would not spare to report behind my back that there could no Office in the Court escape the Cardinal and his Servants, and by that means I should have run into open slander of all the World, but now is it come to pass : That it hath pleased the King to take all that I have into his Hands, so that I have now nothing to give you, for I have nothing left me but the bare Cloaths on my back, with many other Words in their Phrase, and so he giving them all hearty Thanks, went away, and afterwards many of his Servants departed from him, some to their Wives, some to their Friends, Master Cromwel to
Lon-

London, it being then the beginning of the Parliament.

The aforesaid Master Cromwell after his departue from my Lord, devised with himself to be one of the Burgeses of the Parliament: And being at *London* he chanced to meet one Sir *Thomas Russel* Knight, a special Friend of his, whose Son was one of the Burgeses of the Parliament, of whom by means he obtained his room, and so put his Feet into the Parliament House, and three days after his departure from my Lord, he came again to *Ashur*, and I being there with my Lord, he said unto me with a pleasant Countenance: I have adventured my Feet where I will be better regarded, e'er the Parliament be dissolved: And after he had some talk with my Lord, he made hast to *London*, because he would not be absent from the Parliament, to the intent he might acquaint my Lord what was there objected against him, thereby

He informed his Lord what was objected against him.

the better to make his defence, in-
somuch that there was nothing at a-
ny time objected against my Lord,
but he was ready to make answer
thereunto, by means whereof he
being earnest in his Masters behalf
was reputed the most faithful Ser-
vant to his Master of all other, and
was generally of all Men highly
commended.

Articles
against
the Car-
dinal, dis-
annulled
by Mr.
Cromwel.

They
charge
him with
a Premu-
nire.

Judges
sent to ex-
amine the
Cardinal.

Then was there brought a Bill of
Articles into the Parliament House
to have my Lord condemned of
High Treason, against which Bill
Master *Cromwel* did inveigh so dis-
creetly and with such witty Perswa-
sions, that the same would take no
effect; then were his Enemies con-
strained to Indict him of a Premu-
nire, and all was to Intitle the King
to all his Goods and Possessions,
which he had obtained and purcha-
sed for the Maintenance of his Colle-
ges of *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, which
were both most sumptuous Build-
ings. To the Judges that were
sent

sent to take my Lord's Answer herein he thus answered.

My Lords Judges, quoth he, the King knoweth whether I have offended or no in using my Prerogative for the which I am indicted, I have the King's License in my Coffer to shew under his Hand and Broad Seal, for the executing and using thereof in most large manner, the which now are in the Hands of mine Enemies, but because I will not here stand to contend with his Majesty in his own Case, I will here presently before you confess the Indictment, and put my self wholly to the Mercy and Grace of the King, trusting that he hath a Conscience and Reason to consider the Truth, and my humble Submission and Obedience wherein I might well stand to my Tryal with Justice. Thus much may you say to his Highness, that I wholly submit my self under his Obedience in all things to his Princely Will and Pleasure whom I never disobeyed

His Answer.

The Cardinal doth submit to the King.

or repugned, but was always contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefly to have believed and obeyed, which I now repent: I most heartily desire you to have me commended to him, for whom I shall, during my life pray to God to send him much Prosperity, Honor and Victory over his Enemies. And so they left him.

After which Mr. *Shelley* the Judge was sent to speak with my Lord, who understanding he was come, issued out of his Privy Chamber and came to him to know his Business, who after due Salutation did declare unto him that the King's Pleasure was to demand my Lord's House, called *York-place* near *Westminster*, belonging to the Bishoprick of *York*, and that you do pass the same according to the Laws of this Realm, his Highness hath sent for all his Judges and Learned Counsel to know their Opinions for your Assurance thereof, who be fully resolved that

The King
demands
York-house.

that your Grace must make a Recognizance, and before a Judge acknowledge and confess the Right thereof to belong to the King and his Successors, and so his Highness shall be assured thereof.

Wherefore it hath pleased the King to send me hither to take of you the Recognizance, having in your Grace such Affiance that you will not refuse to do so, therefore I do desire to know your Grace's Pleasure therein.

Master Shelley, quoth my Lord, I know the King of his own Nature is of a Royal Spirit, not requiring more than Reason shall lead him to by the Law. And therefore I Counsel you and all other Judges and Learned Men of his Council to put no more into his Head than Law, that may stand with Conscience; for when you tell him, that altho this be Law, yet it is not Conscience; for Law without Conscience is not fit to be ministred by a King, nor his Council, nor by any of his Mi-

The Cardinal's
Answer.

ni-

nisters, for every Council to a King ought to have respect to Conscience, before the Rigour of the Law: *Laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The King ought, for his Royal Dignity and Prerogative, to mitigate the Rigour of the Law, and therefore, in his Princely Place, he hath constituted a Chencellour to order for him the same, and therefore the Court of Chancery hath been commonly called the Court of Conscience, for that it hath Jurisdiction to command the Law in every Case, to desist from the Rigour of the Execution. And now I say to you, Mr. *Shelley*, Have I a Power, or may I, with Conscience, give that away which is now mine for me and my Successors? If this be Law and Conscience, I pray you shew me your Opinion.

Forsooth, quoth he, there is no great Conscience in it, but having regard to the King's great Power, it may the better stand with Conscience, who is sufficient to recompence

pence the Church of *York* with the double Value.

That I know well, quoth my Lord, but there is no such Condition, but only a bare and simple Departure of others Rights, if every Bishop should do so, then might every Prelate give away the Patrimony of the Church, and so in process of Time leave nothing for their Successors to maintain their Dignities, which would be but little to the King's Honor.

Well, quoth my Lord, let me see your Commission, which was shewed to him, then quoth my Lord, tell his Highness that I am his most faithful Subject and obedient Beads-man, whose Command I will in no wise disobey, but will in all things fulfil his Pleasure, as you the Fathers of the Law say I may. Therefore I charge your Conscience to discharge me, and shew his Highness from me that I must desire his Majesty to remember, there is both Heaven and Hell, and thereupon the
Clerk

Clerk took and wrote the Recognizance, and after some secret talk they departed.

Thus continued my Lord at *Ashur*, receiving daily Messages from the Court, some good, and some bad, but more ill than good, for his Enemies perceiving the good Affection the King bare always to him, devised a means to disquiet his Patience, thinking thereby to give him occasion to fret and chafe, that Death should rather ensue than otherwise, which they most desired, for they feared him more after his Fall, then they did in his Prosperity. Fearing he should by reason of the King's Favour rise again, and be again in Favour, and great at the Court, they his Enemies might be in danger of their Lives, for their Cruelty wrongfully Ministred unto him, and by their malicious Surmises invented and brought to pass against him, and did continually find new Matters against him to make him vex and fret, but he was a wise Man, and did arm himself with much Patience. At

Memoirs of Cardinal Woolsey. 157

At *Christmas* he fell very sore Sick, He fell Sick.
most likely to die, the King hearing
thereof was very sorry, and sent The King sends his
Doctor Butts his Physician unto him, Physician.
who found him very dangerously
sick in Bed, and returned to the
King. The King demanded, saying,
have you seen yonder Man? Yes,
Sir, quoth he, how do you like him,
quoth the King? Sir, quoth he, if
you will have him dead, I will war-
rant you he will be dead within
these four days, if he receive no
Comfort from you shortly.

Marry, God forbid, quoth the
King, that he should die, for I
would not loose him for twenty
Thousand Pounds. I pray you go
to him and do your care to him.

Then must your Grace, quoth
Doctor Butts, send him some comfor-
table Message; so I will, quoth the
King by you; therefore make speed
to him again, and you shall deliver The King sends his
him this Ring from me for a Token. Ring in
In the which Ring was the King's I- Token of
mage Engraven with a Ruby as like the Favor.

King

158 *Memoirs of Cardinal VVoolsey.*

King as might be devised; This Ring he knoweth well, for he gave me the same; and tell him that I am not offended with him in my Heart for any thing. And that shall be known shortly; therefore bid him pluck up his Heart, and be of good Comfort: And I charge you not to come from him till you have brought him out of the danger of Death, if it be possible.

And Mrs. *Anne Bulloign* her Tablet. Then spake the King to Mrs. *Anne Bulloign*, good Sweet Heart as you love me, send the Cardinal a Token at my Request, and in so doing you shall deserve our Thanks: She being disposed not to offend the King, would not disobey his loving Request; but took incontinently her Tablet of Gold that hung at her side, and delivered it to Doctor *Buts*, with very gentle and loving words, and so he departed to *Asbur* with speed; and after him the King sent Doctor *Cromer*, Doctor *Clement* and Doctor *Wotton* to consult and advise with Dr. *Buts* for my Lords Recovery.

Now after Doctor *Buts* had been
with

with him, and delivered him the Tokens from the King and Mrs. *Anne Bulloign*, with the most comfortable words he could devise on the King's and Mrs. *Anne's* behalf, he advanced himself in his Bed, and received the Tokens very joyfully, giving him many thanks for his Pains and good Comfort, he told him further, that the King's Pleasure was, that he should Minister unto him for his Health. And for the better and more assured ways, he hath also sent Dr. *Cromer*, Dr. *Clement* and Dr. *Wotton*, all to joyn for your Recovery. Therefore, my Lord, quoth Dr. *Buts*, it were well they were called to visit you, and to consult with them for your Disease.

At which motion my Lord was contented, and sent for them to hear their Judgments; but he trusted more to Dr. *Cromer*, than all the rest, because he was the very means to bring him from *Paris* to *England*, and gave him partly his Exhibition in *Paris*. To be short, in four days they sat him a-
In four days they cured him again

gain upon his Feet, and he had gotten him a good Stomach to Meat. All this done, and my Lord in a right good way of Amendment, they took their leaves and departed, to whom my Lord offered his Reward ; but they refused, saying, the King hath given a Special Commandment that they should take nothing of him, for at their return he would reward them of his own cost.

The King
sent three
or four
Loads of
Household-
stuff.

After this, my Lord continued at *Ashur* till *Candlemas*, before and against which Feast, the King caused to be sent to my Lord three or four Loads of Stuff ; and most thereof, except Beds and Kitchinstuff, was loaded in Standards, wherein was both Plate and rich Hangings ; and Chappel stuff, which was done without the knowledge of the Lords of the Council ; for all which he rendred the King most humble and hearty thanks : And afterwards made suite unto the King to be removed from *Ashur* to *Richmond*, which Request was granted.

The

The House of *Richmond*, a little before, was repair'd by my Lord, to his great cost; for the King had made an exchange with him for *Hampton-Court*. Had the Lords of the Council known of these Favours from the King to the Cardinal, they would have perswaded the King to the contrary; for they fear'd, lest his now Abode near the King might move the King at some season to resort unto him, and to call him home again, considering the great and daily Affection the King bare unto him. Therefore they mov'd the King, that my Lord might go down to the *North*, to his Benefice there, where he might be a good Stay (as they alledg'd) to the Country; to which the King condescended, thinking no less but that all had been true, according to their relation, being with such colour of deep Consideration, that the King was straitway perswaded to their Conclusion: Whereupon my Lord of *Norfolk* told Mr. *Cromwell*, who daily did resort to my Lord, that he should say to him, That he must go home to his Benefice: *Well then* Thomas, quoth my Lord, *we will go then to Winchester.* *I will then*
M (quoth

(quoth Mr. Cromwell) tell my Lord of Norfolk what you say: And so he did at his next meeting of him. *What should he do there?* (quoth the Duke) let him go to the rich Bishoprick of York, where his greatest Honour and Charge lyeth, and so shew to him.

The Lords who were not his Friends perceiving that my Lord was dispos'd to plant himself so nigh the King, thought then to withdraw his Appetite from *Winchester*, mov'd the King to give my Lord a Pension of 4000 Marks out of *Winchester*, and all the rest to be distributed amongst the Nobility and his Servants: And so likewise to divide the Revenues of *St. Albans*, whereof some had 200 *l.* and all the Revenues of his Lands belonging to his College at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*, the King took into his own hands, whereof Mr. Cromwell had the receipt and government before, by my Lord's assignment, wherefore it was thought very necessary that he should have the same still, who executed all things so well and exactly, that he was had in great estimation for his Behaviour therein.

Now

Now it came to pass, that those to whom the King had given any Annuities or Fees for term of Life, or by Patent, could not be good, but only for and during my Lord's Life, forasmuch as the King had no longer Estate therein, but what he had by my Lord's attainder in the *Premunire*: And, to make their Estate good and sufficient, there was no other way, but to obtain my Lord's confirmation of their Patents: And to bring this about, there was no other means, but by Mr. *Cromwell*, who was thought the fittest Instrument for this purpose, and for his pains therein he was worthily rewarded: And his Demeanor, his Honesty, and Wisdom was such, that the King took great notice of him; as you shall hereafter hear.

Still the Lords thought long till my Lord was remov'd further off the King's way; wherefore, among others of the Lords, my L. of *Norfolk* said, *Mr. Cromwell, methinks the Cardinal thy Master makes no haste to go Northwards; tell him, if he go not away, I will tear him with my Teeth: Therefore I would advise him to prepare away with speed, or else I will set him forwards.* These words reported

Mr. Cromwell to my Lord at his next repair, which was then at *Richmond*, having obtain'd licence of the King to remove from *Ashur* to *Richmond*; and in the Evening my Lord being accustom'd to walk in the Garden, and I being with him standing in an Alley, I espied certain Images of Beasts counterfeited in Timber, which I went nearer, to take the better view of them, among whom I there saw stand a dunn Cow, whereat I most mused of all those Beasts: My Lord then suddenly came upon me unawares, and speaking to me, said, *What have you'spied there, whereat you look so earnestly?*

Forsooth, quoth I, if it please your Grace, I here behold these Images, which I suppose were ordain'd to be set up in the King's Palace; but amongst'em all, I have most consider'd this Cow, which seems to me the Artificer's Masterpiece. Tea, marry, quoth my Lord, upon this Cow hangs a certain Prophecie, which perhaps you never heard of; I will shew you. There is a Saying,

*When the Cow doth ride the Bull,
Then Priest beware thy Scull.*

Which

Which Saying neither my Lord that declar'd it, nor I that heard it, understood the effect, altho' the Compass thereof was working, and then like to be brought to pass. This Cow the King gave, by reason of the Earldom of *Richmond*, which was Inheritance. This Prophecy was afterwards expounded in this manner: The dunn Cow, because it is the King's Beast, betokens the King; and the Bull betokens Mrs. *Ann Bulloign*, who after was Queen; her Father gave the black Bull's Head in his Cognizance, and was his Beast; so that when the King had married Queen *Ann*, it was thought of all men to be fulfill'd: For what a number of Priests, Religious and Secular, lost their Heads for offending of those Laws made to bring this matter to pass, is not unknown to all the World; therefore it may well be judg'd that this Prophecy is fulfill'd.

The Prophecy expounded.

Fulfill'd by the Cardinals fall.

You have heard what Words the Duke of *Norfolk* spoke to Mr. *Cromwell* touching my Lord's going into the North: Then said my Lord, Tom, 'tis time to be going, therefore, I pray you, go to the King, and tell him, I would go to my Benefice at York, but for lack of Monies, desi-

ring his Grace to help me to some; and you may say, that the last Money I had from his Grace was too little to pay my Debts, and to Compel me to pay the rest of my Debts were too much Extremity, seeing all my Goods are taken from me: Also shew my Lord of Norfolk, and the rest of the Council, that I would depart if I had Money. Sir, quoth Mr. Cromwell, I shall do my best. And so, after other Communication, departed and came to London.

Hair Shirts.

Then, in the beginning of Lent, my Lord removed his Lodging into the Charterhouse at Richmond, where he lay in a Lodging that Dr. Collet made for himself, and every Afternoon, for the time of his residence there, would he sit in contemplation with some one of the most ancient Fathers there, who converted him to dispose the Vain-glory of this World; and there they gave unto him Shirts of Hair, to wear next his Body, which he wore divers times after.

1000 Marks
Pension to the
Cardinal.

The Lords assign'd, that my Lord should have 1000 Marks Pension out of *Winchester*, for his going down into the North; which when the King heard of he commanded that it should be forthwith paid unto Mr. Cromwell; and the King

King commanded Mr. *Cromwell* to repair to him again when he had receiv'd the said Sum, which he accordingly did, to whom His Majesty said, *Shew your Lord that I have sent him Ten thousand pounds of my Benevolence, and tell him he shall not lack; bid him be of good comfort.* The King sent him 10000l.

Mr. *Cromwell*, on my Lord's behalf, thank'd the King for his Royal Liberality towards my Lord, and with that departed to *Richmond*, to whom he delivered the Money and the joyful Tidings, wherein my Lord did not a little rejoyce. Forthwith there was a preparation made for his going; he had with him in his Train 160 Persons, having with him 12 Carts to carry his Goods which he sent from his College at *Oxford*, besides other Carts of his daily carriage of his Necessaries for his Buildings. He kept his solemn Feast of *Easter* at *Peterborough*, and upon *Palm-Sunday* he bare his Palm, and went in Procession with the Monks, and upon *Thursday* he made his Maundy, having 59 poor People whose Feet he wash'd and kiss'd, and after he had dry'd them, he gave every one of 'em Twelve-pence, and three Ells of good Canvas to make 'em

The Cardinal goes to his Bishoprick of York.

He washes 59 poor Mens Feet.

M 4 Shirts,

Shirts, and each of 'em a pair of new Shoes and a Cask of Red-herring : On *Easter-day* he rose to the Resurrection, and that day he went in Procession in his Cardinals Vestments, having his Hat on his Head, and sung the high Mass there himself solemnly : After his Mass he gave his Benediction to all the Hearers, with clean Remission.

From *Peterborough* he took his Journey into the North, but made some stay by the way, and many passages hapned in his Journey, too tedious here to relate. At the last he came to *Stoby*, where he continued till after *Michaelmas* exercising many Deeds of Charity. Most commonly every *Sunday*, if the Weather serv'd, would he go to some poor Parish Church thereabouts, and there would say the Divine Service, and either said or heard Mass, and then caused one of his Chaplains to preach the Word of God to the People, and afterwards he would dine in some honest House in the Town, where should be distributed to the Poor Alms as well of Meat and Drink as Money, to supply the want of Meat and Drink, if the number of Poor did exceed, thus with other good Deeds practising him-

himself during the time of his abode there, between Party and Party being at Variance. About *Michaelmas* after, he remov'd from thence to *Caywood* Castle, within seven miles of the City of *York*, where he had much Honour and Love from all Men, high and low, where he kept a plentiful House for all comers; also he built and repair'd the Castle, which was much decay'd, having at least Three hundred Persons daily in work, to whom he paid Wages, lying there; where all the Doctors and Prebends of the Church of *York* did repair to my Lord, according to their Duties, as unto the chief Head, Patron, and Father of their Spiritual Dignities, who did most joyfully welcome him into those parts, saying, It was no small Comfort unto them to see their Head among 'em, who had been so long absent from 'em, being like unto Fatherless and Comfortless Children for want of his Presence; and that they trusted shortly to see him among 'em in his own Church. To whom he made answer, That it was the most 'special cause of his coming, to be amongst 'em as a Father and a natural Brother.

Sir,

Order in the
Cathedral at
York.

Sir, quoth they, you must understand the Ordinances and Rules of our Church, whereof, altho' you be the Head and sole Governour, yet you are not so well acquainted as we be therein; therefore, if it please your Grace, we shall (under favour) open unto you some part of our ancient Laws and Customs of our Church, that our head Prelate and Pastor, as you now are, might not come above our Quire Door, until by due Order he be install'd; nor, if you should happen to die before your installation, you should not be buried above in the Quire, but below, in the nether part of the body of the Church. Therefore we humbly desire and beseech you, in the Name of all our Brethren, that you would vouchsafe to do therein as our ancient Fathers your Predecessors have done, and that you will not break the laudable Customs of our Church; To the which we are obliged by Oath at our first admittance, to observe that and divers others, which in our Chapter doth remain upon Record.

These Records (quoth my Lord) would I fain see, and then shall you know further of mine Advice and Mind in this business.

A

A Day was assign'd to bring their Records to my Lord, at which time they resorted to my Lord with their Register and Books of Records, wherein were fairly written their Institutions and Rules, which every Minister of their Church was most principally and chiefly bound to observe, and infallibly keep and maintain.

When my Lord had read the Records he did intend to be at the Cathedral Church of *York* the next *Monday* after *Alholland-tide*, against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in so sumptuous a wise as were his Predecessors before him, nor yet in such sort as the Fame and common Report was afterwards made of him, to his great slander; and to the false Reporter's no small Dishonesty, to become a divulger of such notorious Lies I am sure they did; for I my self was sent by my Lord to *York*, to see that all things there should be order'd and provided for that Solemnity in a very decent form, to the honour of that ancient and worthy Monastery of *York*.

Preparation
for the Car-
dinal's Instal-
ment at *York*.

It came to pass, that upon *Alholland-*
day one of the head and principal Offi-
cers

cers of the said Cathedral Church, which should have had most to do at my Lord's Installation, was with my Lord at Caywood, and sitting at Dinner, they fell into Communication of this matter, and the Order and Ceremony thereof: He saying, that my Lord Cardinal should go on foot from a Chapel which stands without the Gates of the City, call'd St. James's Chapel, unto the Minster, upon Cloth, which should be distributed to the Poor after his said passage to the Church. Which my Lord hearing, replied and said, *Altho' our Predecessors have gone upon Cloth, yet we intend to go on foot, without any such Pomp or Glory, in the vamps of our Hosen, (and therefore gave Order to his Servants to go as humbly thither as might be, without any sumptuous Apparel) for I intend on Sunday to come to you to be install'd, and to make but one Dinner for you at the close, and the next day to dine with the Mayor, and so return again hither.*

Store of good
Provision
sent in by the
Country.

The Day being not unknown to all the Country, the Gentlemen, Abbots, and Priors such Provision sent in, that it was almost incredible, for Store and Variety.

The

The Common People held my Lord in great estimation, for his Purity and Liberality, and also for his familiar Gesture and good Behaviour amongst 'em, by means whereof he gain'd much love of all the People in the North parts of *England*.

What chanced before his last Troubles The Cardi-
at *Caywood*, as a Sign or Token from nal's Fall.
God of that which should follow, I will
now, God willing, declare.

My Lord's Enemies being then at Court, about the King, in good Estimation and honourable Dignities, seeing now my Lord in great Favour, and fearing the King would now call him home again, they therefore did plot amongst themselves to dispatch him by means of some sinister Treason, or to bring him into the King's great Indignation by some other means.

This was their daily Study and Consultation, having for their special help and furtherance as many vigilant Attendants upon him, as the Poets feign *Argus* had Eyes.

The King, with these their continual Complaints, was mov'd to much Indignation

dignation, and thought it good that the Cardinal should come up, and so stand to his Tryal in his own Person; which his Enemies did not like of. Notwithstanding he was sent for, and after this sort:

First, they devis'd that Sir *Walter Welch* Knight, one of the King's Privy-Chamber, should be sent down with a Commission into the North, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was some time brought up in the House of my Lord, being joyn'd in Commission with him, should arrest my Lord of High Treason. This being resolv'd upon, Sir *Walter Welch* prepar'd for his Journey, with his Commission and certain Instruments annex'd to the same, and took Horse at the Court Gate upon *Alholland-day*, towards my Lord of *Northumberland*.

Now will I declare what I promis'd before of a certain Sign or Token of my Lord's Trouble ensuing.

Upon *Alhallow-day* my Lord sitting at Dinner, having at his Boards-end divers of his Chaplains to bear him Company, for want of other Guests, you shall now understand that my Lord's
great

great Cross (which stood by) fell, and in the fall broke Dr. Bonner's Head, in-
 somuch that some Blood ran down : My Lord perceiving the fall thereof, de-
 manded of those that stood by him what was the matter that they stood so ama-
 zed ; I shew'd him of the fall of his great Cross upon Dr. Bonner's Head :
 Quoth my Lord, *Hath it drawn any Blood ?* Yea, quoth I. With that he cast his Head aside, and soberly said *Malum Omen*, and thereupon suddenly said Grace, and rose from Table, and went to his Bedchamber, but what he did there I can't tell. Now mark how my Lord expounded the meaning thereof (in his Fancy) to me at *Pontefract*, after his fall : First, That the great Cross that he bare as Archbishop of *York*, be-
 token'd himself ; and Dr. *Austin* the Physician, who overthrew the Cross, was he that accus'd my Lord, whereby his Enemies caught an occasion to overthrow him ; it fell on Dr. Bonner's Head, who was then Master of my Lord's Faculties and Spiritual Jurisdiction, who was then damnified by the fall thereof ; and moreover, the drawing of Blood be-
 token'd Death, which suddenly follow'd.

Now

The Earl of
Northumber-
land and Mr.
Welch come
to Caywood-
Hall.

Now the appointed time drew near for Installation ; and sitting at Dinner the *Friday* before the *Monday* that he should have been install'd at *York*, the Earl of *Northumberland* and Mr. *Welch*, with a great company of Gentlemen of the Earl's House, and of the Country, whom they had gathered in the King's Name to accompany them, (yet not knowing to what end) came to the Hall of *Caywood*, (the Officers being at Dinner) and my Lord not fully dined, nor knowing any thing of the Earl's being come.

The first thing that the Earl did, after he had set the Hall in order, he commanded the Porter to deliver the Keys of the Gates to him, which he would in no wise do, altho' he was threatned and commanded in the King's Name to make deliverance thereof to one of the Earl's Servants, which he still refused, saying to the Earl, That the Keys were deliver'd to him by his Lord and Master, both by Oath and other Command.

Now some of the Gentlemen that stood by the Earl hearing the Porter speak so stoutly, said, *He is a good Fellow and a faithful Servant to his Master, and*
speaks

speaks like an honest Man, therefore give him your Charge, and let him keep the Keys still. Then said my Lord, Thou shalt well and truly keep the Keys to the Use of our Sovereign Lord the King; and you shall let none pass in nor out of the Gates, but such as from time to time you shall be commanded by Us, being the King's Commissioners, during our stay here. And with that Oath he receiv'd the Keys of the Earl's and Mr. Welch's Hands.

But of all this my Lord knew nothing, for they had stopt the Stairs, that none should go to my Lord's Chamber, and they that came down could not go up again. At length one escaped up, and shew'd my Lord, That the Earl of Northumberland was in the Hall, whereat my Lord wondred, and at the first believ'd him not, till he heard it confirm'd by another: Then quoth my Lord, I am sorry we have dined, for I fear our Officers have not provided Fish enough for the Entertainment of him, with some honourable Cheer fitting his Estate and Dignity. And with that my Lord arose from the Table, and commanded to let the Cloth be laid, that the Earl might see how far forth they were at their Dinners: And

N

as

The Cardi-
nal and Earl
meet.

The Earl ar-
rests the Car-
dinal.

as he was going down Stairs, he encountered with my Lord of *Northumberland*, to whom my Lord said, *You are heartily welcome, my Lord*; and so they embrac'd each other. Then quoth my Lord Cardinal, *If you had lov'd me, you would have sent me word before of your coming, that I might have entertain'd you according to your Honour; notwithstanding, you shall have such Cheer as I can make you for the present, with a right Goodwill, trusting you will accept thereof in good part, hoping hereafter to see you oftner, when I shall be more able to entertain you.* This said, my Lord took him by the Hand, and led him to his Chamber, whom follow'd all the Earl's Servants, and they being there all alone, saving him, who kept the Door, as my Office requir'd, being Gentleman-Usher, these two Lords standing at a Window, the Earl trembling said, *I arrest you of High Treason*; with which Words my Lord was well nigh astonish'd, standing still a good space, without speaking one Word. But at the last, quoth my Lord, *What Authority have you to arrest me?* Quoth the Earl, *I have a Commission so to do*: Shew it me, quoth my Lord, *that I may see*

See the Contents thereof. Nay Sir, that you must not, quoth the Earl. Then, quoth my Lord, hold you contented, for I will not obey your Arrest; for there hath been between your Ancestors and my Predecessors great Contentions and Debate, and therefore, unless I see your Authority, I will not obey you.

Even as they were debating the matter in the Chamber, so likewise was Mr. Welch busie in arresting Dr. Austin at the Door, saying, *Go in thou Traytor, or I shall make thee.* With that I open'd the Portal-door, and did thrust in Dr. Austin before him with Violence.

Mr. Welch
arrests Dr.
Austin.

The matter on both sides astonish'd me very much, marveling what all this should mean, until at the last Mr. Welch being enter'd my Lord's Chamber, began to pluck off his Hood, being of the same Cloth his Cloak was, which Hood he wore to the intent he should not be known, who kneel'd down to my Lord, to whom my Lord said, *Come hither Gentleman, and let me speak with You,* commanding him to stand up, and said thus: *My Lord of Northumberland hath arrested me, but by what Authority I know not; if you be privy thereunto, join'd with him*

therein, I pray you shew me. Indeed, my Lord, if it please your Grace, quoth Mr. Welch, I pray have me excus'd; there is annex'd to our Commission certain Instructions as You may not see, nor be privy to. Why, quoth my Lord, be your Instructions such, as I may not see, nor be privy thereunto? but peradventure, if I be privy unto 'em, I may help you the better to perform 'em; for it is not unknown to you, that I have been of Counsel in as weighty Matters as these are, and I doubt not but I shall do well enough for my part, prove my self a True Man, against the Expectations of my cruel Enemies. I see the Matter whereon it groweth; well, there is no more to do, I trow: You are of the Privy-Chamber, your Name is Mr. Welch, I am contented to yield to You, but not to the Earl, without I see his Commission; and also You are a sufficient Commissioner in this behalf, being one of the Privy-Chamber: Therefore put your Commission in execution, spare me not, I will obey you and the King, for I fear not the Cruelty of mine Enemies, no more than I do the Truth of my Allegiance, wherein I take GOD to witness, I never offended His Majesty in Word or Deed; and therein I dare stand Face to Face

Face with any, having a Difference without Partiality.

Then came my Lord of *Northumberland*, and commanded me to avoid the Chamber; and being loth to depart from my Master, I stood still, and would not remove; to whom he spake again, and said, *There is no Remedy, you must depart*: With that I look'd upon my Master, as who would have said, *Shall I go?* and perceiving by his Countenance that it was not for me to stay, I departed and went into another Chamber, where were many Gentlemen and others to hear News, to whom I made a Report of what I heard and saw, which was great Heaviness to them all.

Then the Earl call'd into his Chamber divers of his own Servants, and after he and Mr. *Welch* had taken the Keys from my Lord, he committed the keeping of my Lord unto five Gentlemen, and then they went about the House and put all things in order, intending to depart the next Day, and to certifie the King and the rest of the Lords what they had done.

Then went they busie about to convey Dr. *Austin* away to *London* with as

N 3

much

The Earl
takes the
Keys from
my Lord.

much Speed and Privacy as they could possible, sending with him divers Persons to conduct him, who was bound to his Horse like a Traytor.

And this being done, when it was near Night, the Commissioners sending two Grooms of my Lord's to attend him in his Chamber, where he lay all Night, the rest of the Earl's Men watch'd in the Chamber, and all the House was watched, and the Gates safe kept, that no Man could pass or repass until the next Morning.

About Eight of the Clock next Morning the Earl sent for me into his Chamber, and commanded me to go to my Lord; and as I was going, I met with Mr. *Welch*, who call'd me unto him, and shew'd me how the King's Majesty bare unto me his Principal Favour for my Love and diligent Service that I had perform'd to my Lord; *Wherefore*, quoth he, *the King's Pleasure is, That You shall be about him as Chief, in whom his Highness putteth great Confidence and Trust* and thereupon gave me in Writing the Articles, which when I had read, I said I was content to obey His Majesty's Pleasure, and would be Sworn to the per-

performance thereof; whereupon he gave me my Oath.

That done, I resorted to my Lord, whom I found sitting in a Chair, the Table being ready spread for him; but so soon as he perceiv'd me come in, he fell into such a woful Lamentation, that would have forc'd a Flinty Heart to mourn.

I then comforted him as well as I could, but he would not; *For (quoth he) I am much griev'd that I have nothing to reward you and the rest of my true and faithful Servants, for all the good Service that they and you have done me, for which I do much lament.*

Upon Sunday following, the Earl and Mr. Welch appointed to set forward, for my Lord's Horse and ours were brought ready into the inner Court, where we mounted, and coming towards the Gate ready to ride out, the Porter had no sooner open'd the same, but we saw without, ready attending, a great number of Gentlemen and their Servants, such as the Earl had appointed for that Service, to attend and conduct my Lord to Pontefract that Night.

But to tell you the Truth, there were also many of the People of the Country assembled at the Gate, lamenting his Departure, in number above Three thousand, who, after the opening of the Gate, that they had a sight of him, cry'd out with a loud Voice, *God save your Grace, God save your Grace; the foul Evil take them that have taken you from us; we pray God that Vengeance may light upon 'em.* And thus they ran after him thro' the Town of *Caywood*, for he was there very well belov'd both of Rich and Poor.

The Cardinal's Death.

After our Departure from *Caywood*, we came to *Doncaster*, the third Day we came to *Sheffield Park*, where my Lord of *Shrewsbury* liv'd within the Lodge, and the Earl and his Lady, and a great company of Gentlewomen and Servants stood without the Gate, to attend my Lord's coming, at whose alighting the Earl receiv'd him with much Honour, and embraced him, saying these words, *My Lord, you are most heartily welcome to my poor Lodge, and I am glad to see you.*

Here

Here my Lord staid a Fortnight, and was most nobly entertain'd; he spent most of his Time, and applied his Mind to Prayers continually in great Devotion. It came to pass, as he sate one day at Dinner, I being there, perceiv'd his Colour divers times to change; I ask'd him if he was well; who answered me with a loud Voice, *I am suddenly taken with a Thing at my Stomach as cold as a Whetstone, and am not well; therefore take up the Table, and make a short Dinner, and return to me again suddenly.*

I made but a little stay, but came to him again, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease: He desir'd me to go to the Apothecary, and ask him, if he had any thing would break Wind upwards: He told me he had. Then I went and shew'd the same to my Lord, who commanded me to give him some thereof; and so I did, and it made him break Wind exceedingly: *Lo, quoth he, you may see it was but Wind, for now, I thank God, I am well eased.* And so he arose from Table and went to Prayers, as he used every day after Dinner.

In

In the Afternoon my Lord of Shrewsbury sent for me to him, to whom he said, *Forasmuch as I have alwaies perceived you to be a Man in whom your Lord putteth great Affiance, and I myself knowing you to be a Man very honest, (with many Words of Commendations and Praise, more than becometh me to rehearse) Your Lord and Master hath often desir'd me to write unto the King, that he might answer his Accusations before his Enemies; and this day I have receiv'd Letters from His Majesty, by Sir Walter Kingston, whereby I perceive that the King hath him in good Opinion, and, upon my Request, hath sent for him by the said Sir William Kingston.*

Therefore now I would have you play your Part wisely with him, in such sort as he may take it quietly and in good part, for he is alwaies full of Sorrow and much Heaviness at my being with him, that I fear he would take it ill if I bring him Tidings thereof: And therein doth he not well, for I assure you that the King is his very good Lord, and hath given me most hearty Thanks for his Entertainment; and therefore go your way to him, and perswade him I may find him in quiet at my coming,
for

for I will not tarry long after you.

Sir, (quoth I) and if it please your Lordship, I shall endeavour to the best of my Power to accomplish your Lordship's Command; but, Sir, I doubt, when I name this Sir *William Kingston*, that he will mistrust some ill, because he is Constable of the *Tower*, and Captain of the Guard, having in his Company Twenty-four of the Guard to accompany him. *That is nothing*, quoth the Earl; *What if he be Constable of the Tower, and Captain of the Guard? he is the fittest Man, for his Wisdom and Discretion, to be sent about such a Business; and for the Guard, it is only to defend him from those that might intend him any Ill: Besides that, the Guard are for the most part such of his Old Servants as the King hath taken into his Service, to attend him most justly.* Well, Sir, quoth I, I shall do what I can; and so departed, and went to my Lord, and found him in the Gallery with his Staff and his Beads in his Hands; and seeing me come, he ask'd me, *What News?* Forsooth, quoth I, the best News that ever you heard, if you can take it well, I pray God it be true. Then quoth I, My Lord

The Cardinal's causeless Fears.

Enemies.

Lord of *Shrewsbury* said, He your most assured Friend hath so provided, by his Letters to the King, that His Majesty hath sent for you by Mr. *Kingston* and Twenty-four of the Guard, to conduct you to his Highness. Mr. *Kingston* ! quoth he, and clapped his Hand on his Thigh, and gave a great Sigh.

“ May it please your Grace, (quoth I)
 “ I would you would take all things
 “ well, it would be much better for
 “ you; content your self for God’s sake,
 “ and think that God and your Friends
 “ have wrought for you according to
 “ your own Desire: And (as I conceive)
 “ you have much more Cause to rejoyce
 “ than lament or mistrust the Matter;
 “ for I assure you, that your Friends
 “ are more afraid of you than you need
 “ be of them: And His Majesty, to shew
 “ his Love to you, hath sent Mr. *King-*
 “ *ston* to honour you, with as much
 “ Honour as is your Grace’s due, and to
 “ convey you in such easie Journeys as
 “ is fitting for you, and you shall com-
 “ mand him to do, and that you shall
 “ have your Request. And I humbly
 “ entreat you to imprint this my Per-
 “ swasion in your Highness’s Discretion,
 “ and

“ and to be of good Cheer, wherewith
 “ you shall comfort your self, and give
 “ your Friends and poor Servants great
 “ Comfort and Content.

*Well, quoth he, I perceive more than
 you can imagine or do know. Presently
 after came my Lord to acquaint him
 with that I had so lately related: My
 Lord Cardinal thank'd the Earl for his
 great Love, and call'd for Mr. Kingston,
 who came to him presently, and kneel-
 ing down before him, saluted him in
 the King's behalf, whom my Lord (bare-
 headed) offer'd to take up, but he
 would not: Then, quoth my Lord,
 Mr. Kingston, I pray you stand up, and
 leave your kneeling to me, for I am a
 Wretch repleat with Misery, not esteem-
 ing my self, but as a meer Object utterly
 cast away, but without Desert, GOD he
 knows; therefore, good Mr. Kingston,
 stand up.*

The Card-
 nal salutes
 Mr. Kingston

Then Mr. Kingston said, *The King's* Mr. Kingston
Majesty hath him commended unto you. I tells him he
thank his Highness, quoth my Lord, I is in the
hope he is in good Health. Tea, quoth King's Fa-
Mr. Kingston, and he hath him commend- vour.
ed unto you, and commanded me to bid you
be

be of good cheer, for he beareth you as much Goodwill as ever he did.

And whereas Report hath been made unto him, That you should commit against His Majesty certain heinous Crimes, which he thinketh to be; but yet he, for ministration of Justice in such Cases requisite, could do no less than send for you, that you might have your Tryal, mistrusting nothing your Truth and Wisdom, but that you shall be able to acquit your self of all Complaints and Accusations extended against you: And you may take your Journey to him at your Pleasure, commanding me to attend you.

Mr. Kingston, (quoth my Lord) I thank you for your good News; and, Sir, hereof assure your self, if I were as able and lusty as ever I was to ride, I would go with you Post; but, alas! I am a Diseased Man, having a Flux; (at which time it was apparent that he had Poyson'd himself) it hath made me very weak, but the Comfortable News you bring is of purpose (I doubt) to bring me into a Fool's Paradise, for I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your Goodwill and Pains taken about

about me, and I shall with speed make ready to Ride with you.

After this, I was commanded to make all things ready for our Departure the morrow after.

When my Lord went to Bed, he fell very sick of the *Lask*, which caused him to go to Stool from time to time all that Night, insomuch that from that time till Morning he had Fifty Stools; and the Matter that he voided was very black, which the Physicians call'd *A-dustine*, whose Opinions were, That he had not above four or five Days to live.

The Cardinal
near Death.

Notwithstanding he would have rode with Mr. *Kingston* the next day, had not the Earl of *Shrewsbury* advis'd him to the contrary; but the next day he took his Journey with Mr. *Kingston* and them of the Guard, who espying him, could not abstain from weeping, considering he was their old Master, and now in such a miserable Case; whom my Lord took by the Hand, and would, as he rode by the way, sometimes talk with one, and sometimes with another, till he came to a House of my Lord's, standing in the way, call'd *Hardwick-Hall*.

Hall, where he lay all that Night very ill at ease ; the next day he came to *Nottingham*, and the next day to *Leicester-Abbey*, and the next day he waxed very sick, that he had almost fallen from his Horse, so that it was Night e're he got to *Leicester-Abbey*, where, at his coming in at the Gates, the Abbot with all their Covent met him with many lighted Torches, whom they honourably receiv'd, and welcom'd with great Reverence ; to whom my Lord said, *Father Abbot, I am come to lay my Bones amongst you* ; riding still on his Mule till he came to the Stairs of his Chamber, where he alighted : Mr. *Kingston* holding him by the Arm, led him up the Stairs, who told me afterwards, That he never felt so heavy a Burthen in all his Life : And as soon as he was in his Chamber, he went strait to Bed. This was upon *Saturday*, and so he continued.

On *Monday*, in the Morning, as I stood by his Bed-side, about Eight of the Clock, the Windows being close shut, and having Wax Lights burning upon the Cupboard, I thought I perceiv'd him drawing on towards Death.

He

He perceiving my Shadow upon the Bed-side, ask'd who was there. Sir, quoth I, 'tis I. *How do you*, quoth he, *well*? Ay Sir, (quoth I) *if I might see your Grace well. What is it a Clock*, quoth he? I answer'd, *It is about Eight of the Clock*. Quoth he, *That cannot be; rehearsing Eight of the Clock so many times: Nay*, quoth he, *that cannot be, for at Eight of the Clock you shall see your Master's Time draw near that I must depart this World*. With that Dr. Palmer, a worthy Gentleman, standing by, bid me ask him if he would be thriven to make him ready for G O D, whatever chanc'd to fall out; which I did, but he was very angry with me, and ask'd what I had to do to ask him such a Question; till at the last Mr. Doctor took my Part, and talk'd with him in Latin, and pacified him.

After Dinner Mr. Kingston sent for me, and said, Sir, *the King hath sent unto me Letters by Mr. Vincent, our old Companion, who hath been in Trouble in the Tower, for Money that my Lord should have had at his Departure, a great part of which Money cannot be found; wherefore the King, at Mr. Vincent's Request, for*
O the

the declaration of the Truth, hath sent him hither with his Grace's Letters, that I should examin my Lord, and have your Counsel therein, that he may take it well and in good part: And this is the Cause of my sending for you; therefore I desire your Counsel therein, for Acquittal of this poor Gentleman Mr. Vincent.

“ Sir, (quoth I) according to my
 “ Duty you shall, and by my Advice
 “ you shall resort unto him in your own
 “ Person, to visit him, and in Commu-
 “ nication break the matter unto him,
 “ and if he will not tell you the Truth
 “ therein, then may you certifie the
 “ King thereof, but in any Case name
 “ not, nor speak of, my Fellow *Vincent*:
 “ Also I would not have you to de-
 “ tract the Time, for he is very sick,
 “ and I fear that he will not live past
 “ a Day or two. And accordingly
 Mr. *Kingston* went to my Lord, and
 demanded the Money, saying, That
 my Lord of Northumberland found a Book
 at Caywood-house, that you had but late-
 ly borrow'd Ten thousand Pounds, and
 there is not so much as One Penny to be
 found, who hath made the King privy to
 the same; wherefore the King hath writ-
 ten

ten to me, to know what is become thereof, for 'twere pity that it should be holden from you both; therefore I require you, in the King's Name, to tell me the Truth, that I may make a just Report thereof unto His Majesty of your Answer.

With that quoth my Lord, Oh, good Lord! how much doth it grieve me, that the King should think any such thing in me, that I should deceive him of One Penny, seeing I have nothing, nor ever had, (GOD be my Judge) that I ever esteem'd so much mine own as His Majesty's, having but the bare Use of it during my Life, and after my Death to leave it wholly to him, wherein His Majesty hath prevented me! But for this Money that you demand of me, I assure you it is none of my own, for I borrow'd it of drivers of my Friends, to bury me, and to bestow amongst my Servants, who have taken great Pains about me: Notwithstanding, if it be your Pleasure to know, I must be content; yet I beseech His Majesty to see it satisfied, for the discharge of my Conscience, to them that I ow'd it to. Who be they? quoth Mr. Kingston. That shall I tell you? (quoth my Lord) I borrow'd 200 l. of John Allen of London, another 200 l.

Divers Sums
of Money
borrow'd by
the Cardinal
a little before
he died.

of Sir Richard Gresham, and 200 l. of the Master of the Savoy, and also 200 l. of Dr. Highden Dean of my College at Oxford, 200 l. of the Treasurer of the Church, and 200 l. of Mr. Ellis my Chaplain, and another 200 l. of a Priest: I hope the King will restore it again, forasmuch as it is none of mine.

Sir, (quoth Mr. Kingston) there is no Doubt in the King, whom you need not distrust; but, Sir, I pray you, where is the Money? Quoth he, I will not conceal it I warrant you, but I will declare it unto you before I die, by the Grace of God; have a little Patience with me, I pray you, for the Money is safe enough, in an honest Man's Hands, who will not keep One Penny thereof from the King.

The Cardinal
desires Meat. So Mr. Kingston departed for that time, my Lord being very weak: And about Four of the Clock the next Morning, as I conceiv'd, I ask'd him how he did; Well, quoth he, if you have any Meat, I pray you give me some.

Sir, quoth I, there is none ready. Then he said, You are much to blame, for you should have always Meat for me in readiness, whensoever that my Stomach serves me: I pray you get some ready for me,
for

for I mean to make my self strong to day, to the intent I may go to Confession, and make me ready for God. Quoth I, I will call up the Cooks, to prepare some Meat; and also I will call Mr. Palmer, that he may discourse with you till your Meat be ready. With a Good-will, quoth my Lord. And so I call'd Mr. Palmer, who arose and came to my Lord.

Then I went and acquainted Mr. Kingston, that my Lord was very sick, and not like to live. In good Faith (quoth Mr. Kingston) you are much to blame, to make him believe he's sicker than he is. Well, Sir, (quoth I) you cannot say but I gave you Warning, as I am bound to do. Upon which Words he arose and came unto him; but before he came, my Lord Cardinal had eaten a Spoonful or two of Callis made of Chicken, and after that he was in his Confession the space of an hour, and then Mr. Kingston came to him, and bid him good-morrow, and ask'd him how he did: Sir, quoth he, I watch but God's Pleasure to render up my poor Soul to him; I pray you, have me heartily commended unto His Royal Majesty, and beseech him on my behalf to call to his Princely Remembrance.

O 3

membrance all Matters that have been between us from the beginning, and the Progreß, and especially between good Queen Katherine and him, and then shall his Grace's Conscience know whether I have offended him or not.

He is a Prince of a most Royal Carriage, and hath a Princely Heart, and rather than he will miss or want any part of his Will, he will endanger the one half of his Kingdom.

I do assure you I have often kneel'd before him, sometimes three hours together, to perswade him from his Will and Appetite, but could not prevail: And Mr. Kingston, had I but serv'd GOD as diligently as I have serv'd the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs; but this is the just Reward that I must receive for my diligent Pains and Study, not regarding my Service to GOD, but only to my Prince. Therefore let me advise you, if you be one of the Privy Council, (as by your Wisdom you are fit) take heed what you put in the King's Head, for you can never put it out again.

And I desire you further to request his Grace in God's Name, That he have a Vigilant Eye to suppress the Hellish Lutherans,

therans, that they encrease not through The Cardi-
nal's Advice.
his great Negligence, in such a sort, as he
be compel'd to take up Arms to subdue
'em; as the King of Bohemia was, whose
Commons being infested with Wickliff's
Heresies, the King was enforc'd to take
that course.

Let him consider the Story of King
Richard the Second, the second Son of
his Progenitor, who lived in the Time of
Wickliff's Seditions and Heresies: Did
not the Commons, I pray you, in his Time,
rise against the Nobility and chief Gover-
nours of this Realm, and at the last some
of 'em were put to Death without Justice
or Mercy? And under pretence of having
all things common, did they not fall to
Spoiling and Robbing, and at last took the
King's Person, and carried him about the
City, making him obedient to their Pro-
clamations?

Did not also the Traiterous Hereticks
Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, pitch
a Field with Hereticks against King Hen-
ry the Fourth, where the King was in Per-
son, and fought against 'em, to whom God
gave the Victory?

Alas! if these be not plain Presidents,
and sufficient Perswasions to admonish a

Prince, then God will take away from us our prudent Rulers, and leave us to the hands of our Enemies; and then will ensue Mischief upon Mischief, Inconveniences, Barrenness and Scarcity, for want of good Orders in the Common-wealth; from which, God of his tender Mercy defend us.

Mr. Kingston farewell; I wish all things may have good Success, my Time draws on, I may not tarry with you; I pray you remember my Words.

Now began the Time to draw near, for he drew his Speech at length, and his Tongue began to fail him, his Eyes perfectly set in his Head, his Sight failed him. Then we began to put him in mind of Christ's Passion, and caus'd the Yeomen of the Guard to stand by privately to see him die, and bear witness of his Words and his Departure, who heard all his Communications.

The Cardinal gives up the Ghost.

And then presently the Clock struck Eight, at which time he gave up the Ghost. And thus departed he this Life, one of us looking upon another, supposing he Prophesied of his Departure.

We

We sent for the Abbot of the House to anoint him, who speedily came as he was ending his Life, who said certain Prayers before that the Life was out of his Body.

Here is the End and Fall of Pride ; for, I assure you, he was in his time the proudest Man alive, having more Regard to the Honour of his Person than to his Spiritual Function, wherein he should have express'd more Meekness and Humility ; for Pride and Ambition are both link'd together : And Ambition is like Choler, which is an Humor that makes Men active, earnest, and full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not hinder'd in its Course ; but if it be stopt, and cannot have its way, it becometh Dust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious and proud Men, if they find the way open for their Rising and Advancement, and still get forwards, they are rather busie than dangerous : But if they be check'd in their Desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon Men and Matters with an evil Eye, and are best pleas'd

pleas'd when things go backwards.

But I forbear to speak any further herein.

The Cardinal being departed, Mr. *Kingston* sent post to *London* one of the Guard : Then was Mr. *Kingston* and the Abbot in consultation about the Funeral, which was solemniz'd the Day after, for Mr. *Kingston* would not stay the return of the Post.

They thought good that the Mayor of *Leicester* and his Brethren should see him personally dead, to prevent false Reports that he was alive : And in the *interim*, whilst the Mayor was sent for, his Bones were laid in the Coffin, and his Shirt of Hair, and his Overshirt of fine Holland, were taken off and put into the Coffin together, with all such Ornaments wherewith he was invested when he was made Archbishop, as *Mitre*, *Cross*, *Ring*, and *Pall*, with all other things due to his Orders.

Thus he lay all that Day with his Coffin open, and bare-faced, that all that desir'd might see him, and about Three of the Clock he was buried of the Abbot with great Solemnity. And
being

being in the Church, his Corps were set in the *Ladies Chapel*, with many Tapers, and Poor Men about him holding Torches in their Hands, who watch'd the Corps all that Night, whilst the Canons sung divers Dirges and other Divine Orisons.

The Cardinal is buried in *St. Mary's Chapel* in *Leicester*.

And at Four of the Clock the next Morning, the Cardinal's Servants and *Mr. Kingston* came to the Church, to the execution of many Ceremonies in such manner as is usual at Bishops Burials; and so he went to Mass, where the Abbot did Offer, and divers others, and then went to bury the Corps in the middle of the said Chapel: By this time it was Six of the Clock, being *St. Andrew's Day*.

Then we prepar'd for our Journey to the Court, where we attended His Majesty; the next Day I was sent for to the King, conducted by *Mr. Norris*, where the King was in his Night-Gown of Rochet Velvet, furr'd with Sables, before whom I kneel'd the space of an Hour, during which time His Majesty examin'd me of divers Particulars concerning my Lord Cardinal, wishing rather

ther than Twenty thousand Pounds that he had liv'd.

He ask'd me concerning the Fifteen hundred Pounds which Mr. *Kingston* moved to my Lord. Quoth I, I think I can tell your Grace where it is, and who hath it : *Can you ?* (quoth the King) *I pray you tell me, and you shall not be unrewarded.*

“ Sir, (quoth I) after the Depar-
 “ ture of Mr. *Vincent* from my Lord
 “ at *Scrooby*, who had the Custody
 “ thereof, leaving it with my Lord in
 “ divers Bags, he deliver'd it to a cer-
 “ tain Priest, safely to be kept to his
 “ use. *Is this true* (quoth the King) ?
 “ Yea, (quoth I) without doubt, and
 “ the Priest will not deny it before
 “ me, for I was at the delivery there-
 “ of; who hath gotten divers other
 “ rich Ornaments, which are not Re-
 “ gistr'd in the Book of my Lord's
 “ Inventory, or other Writings, where-
 “ by any Man is able to charge him
 “ therewith but my self.

Then said the King, *Let me alone
 for keeping this Secret between Me and
 You. Howbeit Three may keep Counsel*
 if

if Two be away: And if I knew my Cap were privy to my Counsel, I would cast it into the Fire and burn it. And, for Your Honesty and Truth, you shall be Our Servant in Our Chamber, as you were with your Master.

Therefore go you your ways to Sir John Gage, Our Vice-Chamberlain, to whom We have spoken already, to admit you to Our Servant in Our Chamber; and then go to the Lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you your whole Tears Wages, which is Ten Pounds; Is it not so, quoth the King? "Yea forsooth, and if it please your Grace, quoth I. And withal (said the King) you shall receive a Reward of the Duke of Norfolk.

So I receiv'd Ten Pounds of the Duke for my Wages, and Twenty Pounds for my Reward, and His Majesty gave me a Cart and Six Horses, the best that I could chuse out of my Lord's Horses, to carry my Goods, and Five Marks for my Charge home-wards.

I think

I think I cannot better conclude this Account of this great Minister of State and Favourite, than by his Character drawn out of *Shakespear*, who, in his Play of *Henry the Eighth*, has these Words:

Shakespear,
p. 225.

Griffith to Q. Katherine.

This Cardinal, ———
Tho' from an Humble Stock, undoubtedly
Was fashion'd to much Honour. From his Cradle
He was a Scholar, and a ripe and good one ;
Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and perswading :
Lofty and sower to them that Lov'd him not,
But to those Men that sought him, sweet as Summer.
And tho' he were unsatisfied in Getting,
(Which was a Sin) yet in Bestowing, Madam,
He was most Princely : Ever witness for him
Those Twins of Learning, that he rais'd in You,
Ipswich and Oxford, one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to out-live the Good that did it.
The other (tho' unfinish'd) yet so famous,
So excellent in Art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his Virtue.
His Overthrow heap'd Happiness upon him :
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the Blessedness of being little :
And added greater Honours to his Age
Than Man cou'd give him.

Also

Also this, by Dr. Corbet, late Bishop of Norwich, in his Poems, page 4.

*Search, find his Name, but there is none: O Kings,
Remember whence your Power and Vastness springs,
If not as Richard now, so may you be,
Who hath no Tomb, but Scorn and Memory.
And tho' from his own Store Woolsey might have
A Palace or a College for his Grave,
Yet here he lies interr'd, as if that all
Of him to be remember'd were his Fall.
Nothing but Earth to Earth, no pompous Weight
Upon him, but a Pebble or a Quair.
If Thou art thus neglected, what shall We
Hope after Death, that are but Shreds of Thee?*

FINIS.

BOOKS

**BOOKS Printed for Sam. Briscoe, and
Sold by B. Bragg, at the Blue-Ball in
Ave-Mary-lane.**

Newly Publish'd,

SECRET Memoirs of *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*, prime Minister and Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*; containing an Instructive Account of his Ambition, Designs, Intrigues, excessive Power; his Engrossing the Queen, with the dangerous Consequences of that Practice, &c. Written during his Life, and now publish'd from an old Manuscript. The Second Edition. To which is added a Preface by *Dr. Drake*. Price 3 s. 6 d.

2. The Source of our present Fears discover'd: Or, Plain Proofs of some late Designs against our present Constitution and Government. Containing Remarks on some dangerous Libels and Pamphlets publish'd of late. To which is added, by a Friend of the Author's, a Word to the Wise, with *Dr. Stanhope* Dean of *Canterbury's* Remarks upon the word *Moderation*, taken from his Sermon preach'd before the *Convocation*, on *Thursday* the 25th of *October*, 1705. Price 1 s.

3. Two Campaigns in one Panegyrical Essay upon his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough's* Successes in the Years 1704 & 1705, and his fine House of *Blenheim* now building at his Mannor of *Woodstock*, lately given him by Act of Parliament, for his great Service. To which is added, the fifth Ode of *Horace's* fourth Book, turn'd into English by way of imitation, and humbly address'd to his Grace, instead of *Augustus*, to whom 'tis dedicated in the Original. Price 6 d.

A Memorial

A
MEMORIAL

Presented to

Queen *Elizabeth*,

AGAINST

Her *Majesty's* being En-
gross'd by any Particu-
lar *Favourite*.

*Written by William Cecil, Lord Burleigh,
then Lord High-Treasurer of England.*

MEMORIAL

Presented to

Queen Elizabeth

AGAINST

Her Majesty's being
stopped by any Partition

and otherwise

By the Hon. John
Clerke Esq. Secretary of State

A

MEMORIAL

Presented to

Queen *Elizabeth,*

B Y

WILLIAM CECIL,

Lord *Burleigh*, then Lord
High-Treasurer of *Eng-*
land, to prevent Her Ma-
jesty's being Engross'd
by any one *Favorite.*

May it please your Majesty,

FULL of Assurance, that my un-
feigned Zeal for Your Majesty's
Interest and Service, will be evi-
dent in what I humbly presume to *Re-*
monstrate to Your Majesty. I shall ven-
ture to speak my mind with a *Freedom*
worthy the noble End and Aim of my De-
sign. When any Man, that is, as ambi-
tious

P 2

tious as my self, of *engaging* your Majesty's *good Opinion* of my Actions, and your *Favour* on my Endeavours, shall attempt to plead against any *Particulars engrossing* your *Royal Ear*, he cannot well be suspected of directing his Discourse and Sollicitations on that Head, to any private Interest and Advantage. Since by advancing the *contrary Position*, he might hope perhaps in time, and in his turn, by the force of *Industry* and *Application*, to enjoy the Benefit of it.

Secure therefore, in my Zeal, for the Welfare of my Prince and my Country, I shall venture to appeal to your Majesty's Knowledge of History, whether it afford any one Instance of that Nature, which has not been, or was *very likely* to be, of *fatal Consequence* to the *Prince*, or *the People*, or *both*. I will not insist on *Sejanus*, or any other of the *Roman Minions*, to whose *Ambition* or *Avarice*, when the *Nobility* had fallen in Numbers, and the People felt the Rage of their *exorbitant Passions*, unsatisfy'd with what they possess'd, they have aim'd at the *Life* and *Throne* of the Prince that rais'd them. The Reason of which is plain, because

Because having only *themselves*, and *their own private Advantage* in view, they make use of the *Prince* only, as the means of *their own Grandeur*, without any regard to his *real Service*, or the *Publick Good*, against which it is impossible to do the *Prince* any.

A King, *by his Royal Office*, is the *Father* of his Country, whose Eye ought to watch over the Good of *all* and *every one* of his Subjects, in the *just execution of the Laws*, and the *impartial dispensation of PREROGATIVE*; in *Redressing of Grievances*, *Rewarding Vertue*, *Punishing Vice*, *Encouraging Industry*, and the like. But *Princes*, tho' the *Viceregerents of Heaven*, being not endued with *Omni-science*, can only know these *Grievances*, *Vertues*, *Vices*, *Industry*, &c. of the *People*, and their several *Exigencies*, by the *Eyes* and *Information of others*; nor can this be done by trusting to any *one particular FAVORITE*, who having no more, nor larger *Qualifications*, than his *Prince*, can have no other means of informing him aright, than what his *Prince* has without him. Nay, it may very well be said, that he has not any means

too *sure* and *infallible*; For the *Prince* if he consult his *great Councils*, and only adhere to their *Publick Decisions*, can not miss of knowing *all*, that is necessary to be known for his own *GLORY*, and his *People's GOOD*, which are *inseparable*; but the *FAVORITE* having *private Designs* to carry on, receives his *Information* from those, who must represent things to him, as he wou'd have them, by that means to make their *Court*, and secure that *Success* to their *Wishes*, for which they daily pay the *Adoration* of so much *Flattery*. But if, by the wonderful *Perspiccity* and application of the *Favorite*, he shou'd attain a *true knowledge* of the state of things; of the *Inclinations*, and *Desires* of the *People*; it is Forty to One, that, these clashing with his *private Aims*, he gives them another *Face* to the *Prince*, a Turn more agreeable to his *separate Interest*, tho' equally destructive of his *Master's* and *Country's Good*.

The only way therefore, for a *Prince* to govern, with satisfaction to his own *Conscience*, is to be the *Common Father* of all his *Country*, to hear the *Advice* of
all

all his Counsellors, and have an open Ear to all the Grievances and Necessities of all his People. Which can never be done while any One Man has the luck to possess the *Royal Favour*, so far as to make his Advice an over-balance to the whole Nation. They gain by that means a Power, which they *extreamly seldom*, if ever, use for the *People's* or *Prince's Advantage*, but most commonly, if not always, to the destruction of *both*. There are Examples enough of this to alarm any *Wise* and *Politick Prince*. The *Mayors* of the Palace in *France*, at last possess'd the *Throne*. And *Domestick Instances* might be given of those, who by their *excessive Power* have, if not themselves possess'd, yet *depriv'd* and set whom they *pleas'd* on the *Throne*.

But omitting what your Majesty knows *extreamly well*, I shall only give you a view of a great *FAVORITE* in the Reign of your *Royal Father*; a true Prospect of whose Practices and Ambition, may warn your Majesty against all those, who wou'd engross not only your Majesty's Ear,
P 4 but

but all the Gifts and Places your Majesty can bestow ; so to be, if not in Name, yet in Effect Kings of your People. I mean Cardinal *Wolsey*, whose Fame has been pretended to be vindicated by a Domestick of his, in the Days of the late Queen. And tho' I shall not deny his admirable Qualifications and Parts ; or his Justice in many Particulars ; yet I shall shew, that the Ills he did, were much more *prejudicial to the King and People*, than the Good he did beneficial to them.

Whatever he did, as *Chancellor*, allowing his Decrees all *Equitable* and *Just*, will not be sufficient to destroy my Assertion, since that only reach'd some *Particulars*, who had Causes depending before him ; but the many *Exorbitances* of his Administration, spread to the whole People, as will appear from those few Instances which I shall give, by which he will put the King on such *illegal Attempts* to replenish that Exchequer, which his *Ambition* and *Pride* more than any Profusion or Expences of the King, had exhausted.

The

The Reason of this Assertion will be plain, if your Majesty will reflect on the *more than Royal Retinue*, which tho' a Subject of the *lowest and most plebeian Rise*, he maintain'd. For not to waste your Majesty's *important Hours*, with a long Catalogue of the Particulars, he had in his Family, *One Earl, Nine Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, and inferior Officers about One Thousand*. For the Maintenance of whom he was at once possess'd of the *Almonership*, the Bishopricks of *Tournay, Lincoln and York, and Durham, St. Albans in Commendam*, the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, in exchange for that of *Durham*, the Revenues of those of *Bath, Worcester and Hereford*, was Lord Chancellor of England, and had the Disposal of all Places of Trust and Profit, and *singly and alone* dispatch'd all Publick Negotiations.

But the maintenance of so *numerous* a Dependance, was not perhaps the *Moyety* of his Expences, he had long entertain'd an *Ambition* to be Pope. And he was too wise to attempt any thing
in

in the *Conclave* or *Court of Rome*, by means of which he cou'd have no hopes of Success. *MONEY* has always been the *only* Argument, which has prevail'd in the *Papal Elections*, or in the particular Interests, that the Princes in Obedience of that See, form for themselves or *Favorites*; the Cardinal therefore must be at an expence *proportionable* to the *vehemence* of his desires: Which having *no Bounds*; his Largeesses, to obtain that End, cou'd be bounded by nothing but the Abilities of the *King and Kingdom*, the *Treasure of which was wholly at his Command*.

This was the Reason, that prevail'd with him to engage the King his Master, to lend Sums of Money to the Emperor, whose Poverty was so well known, that he cou'd have no Prospect of ever having them Repay'd. 'Tis true, the *Emperor* and the *Court of Rome*, were not fair Chapmen, but received his Money, and at the same time instead of promoting, obstructed all his Aims at the *Tripple-Crown*. These *incident* Charges, joyn'd with the *constant* Expences of so numerous a Retinue, occasion'd *perpetual* and
large

large Disbursements, and these put him on extraordinary Ways and Means of providing a Fund for their Continuance.

To this end he grants Commissions, under the Great Seal of *England*, which oblig'd every Man *on Oath*, to deliver the true Value and Estimate of his Estate, and to pay *Four Shillings in the Pound for every Fifty Pounds and upwards*. This was so heavy and severe a Tax, that its being Authoriz'd by *Parliament* wou'd not have freed it from the Imputation of an Oppression of the Subject: But to be done by the private Authority of a *SUBJECT*, is what wants a Name. And that it was so, notwithstanding the Great Seal was affix'd to the Commissions, is plain, from his Majesty's *disowning* the Matter, as such a Violation of the *Fundamental Rights of the People*, and a total dissolution of *Magna Charta*, that no wise King of *England* cou'd be guilty of. A just consideration of this, made the King declare, *That tho' his Necessities were great, yet he shou'd never think them great enough to make him attempt the*
raising

raising Money by any but the Legal way, of the People's Consent in Parliament.

Tho' the King had made this Declaration, and the Cardinal found his *first illegal Project* defeated ; yet since Money was to be had, or his Designs fall to the Ground, he *once more* try's one as little agreeable to *Law*, as the former, tho' not so *odious* and *unproper*. He therefore puts the King on desiring a *Benevolence* of the *People*, without an *Act* of *Parliament*. And the Commissioners, who were the Cardinal's Creatures, and employ'd by him, *exacted this Money, not as a free Gift, but as if due by LAW*. But in this he was *exactly* disappointed, tho' at the *Expence* of his *Master's Reputation* ; for the *People*, Pleaded a *Statute* of *Richard III.* and *obstinately refused to pay it.*

There is something yet very *particularly Remarkable* in this *Affair*, which discovers the *Ingratitude* of the *FAVORITE*. For to take off the *Imputation* of doing this of his own Head, he summon'd the *Lord Mayor, and Aldermen*

men before him, and solemnly protested that a through Conviction of their *Inability to bear so heavy a Tax, and out of his sincere Affection to them, he had in a most humble manner been a Mediator with the King, to recal those Commissions, and wholly threw himself on their free Gifts, and good Inclinations to his Majesty.* By this casting the *Odium* of the Attempt on the King, and challenging the *Merit* of their Revocation to himself. And this is the necessary Consequence of the *Pride and Ambition* of such *FAVORITES*, as wou'd Monopolize the *Ear* of the Prince, to whom they have no farther Regard, than as he is *subservient to their Aims, and Designs.* For if the *Honour and Service* of their Prince, and Country was in their View, they wou'd never be solicitous of excluding all others, whose *Judgment and Zeal* might be assistant to the Success of that *Common Cause.*

These sort of Men are easily distinguished, by a *Judicious and Wise Prince*, by their *Complaisance*, and their *Fawning Devices.* They make it their endeavour to study, and find out the most
power-

powerful Inclination of the King ; whether he be enclin'd by Youth, or Temper to Pleasure, to Tenderness, or Pity, to Cruelty or Avarice; and having thoroughly gain'd a Knowledg of this, they seldom want Address enough to work and interweave it in all their Designs, to promote and accomplish all their private Ends. And there are few of Mankind, who are not sooner won, by an obsequious Flattery of their Darling Inclinations, than with the rough, and often tho disagreeable Face of Truth in Contradiction of those Inclinations. And of all Mankind, Princes are the most apt to be thus impos'd on, because Use being a Second Nature, and they being bred from their Infancy with a Deference of all their Attendants, and a Will uncontroul'd, seem to have a sort of Right to do what they please without Contradiction; and this makes them think those most their Friends, who have the most submissive Complaisance for whatever they have a mind to. Now it is impossible, that the best enclin'd Prince shou'd always be free from Desires, often inconsistent with the Good of their People ; for which they
were

were wholly made, and a *Faithful Counsellor* is oblig'd to oppose this, and humbly to remonstrate the *Inconvenience* that must ensue from an Indulgence of it. Whereas the *false FAVORITE* adds Fire to the Fewel, by perswading the *Justice and Reasonableness* of a Prince's doing what he pleases, and that *his Will ALONE* is the mark of *Right and Wrong*, that his Subjects ought to suffer all things rather, than he want his *Pleasure*. That being the *Vicegerent* of *Heaven*, he is unaccountable to his *Creatures* for his *Actions*.

These are Topics too engaging to the *Corrupt Nature* of *Man*, in which *Pride* has so great a Share, that he easily is induc'd to believe, that all is his due, that he can obtain: Especially a *Young Prince*, whose want of *Experience*, and *Warmth of Blood*, deny him the calm Considerations necessary for a happy *Administration of Government*. This we find verified in *Nero*, whose first five Years, by the admirable Precepts of *Seneca*, excell'd those
of

of *Augustus*; but when he gave Ear to such Flatterers, as I have describ'd, soon swallow'd the Gilded Poison, till he perished in the Obstinacy of his own Will.

And tho' there was a vast distinction betwixt your *Royal Father*, and that Prince; yet he wou'd have made a more Glorious Figure in History, and in the World, had not *Cardinal Wolsey's* Advice prevail'd on him in his young and riper years to quit the Administration to him, and indulge all the Pleasures his high Station and vast Exchequer enabled him to enjoy. Brib'd by so sweet a Bait, he pursu'd the Counsel, and kept such a Habit, that betray'd him to Actions that are not capable of being so far justify'd, as I cou'd wish they might. Yet it may easily be prov'd, that King *Henry* was guilty of no Fault, but 'twas the natural Consequence of this Advice of *Wolsey*, and from which even *Wolsey* himself, by a particular Instance of Providence, deriv'd his own Ruin.

'Tis

'Tis true, that *Princes* of a good and generous Disposition are not so easily perverted by this Way, because they afford the *Flatterer less Matter* to work on: Yet it is certain, that a Man of nice Judgment and Address, will easily turn the VIRTUES of his Prince to the *Public Detriment*, if he can once gain so far the ascendent over him, as to hear no other Counsellor but him, and his immediate Creatures. And he is by so much the more dangerous, by how much he is Master of a more eminent Wisdom, or rather Cunning, and some shew of indifferent Virtues, to which his Prince is particularly enclin'd. For we are too apt to imagine those to have all manner of Virtues, and the greatest Capacity, who seem to enjoy those we have a particular Esteem for. As this must be confess'd a harder Task for the FAVOURITE, so it must likewise be own'd more difficult to remedy; for a virtuous Temper is much harder to be brought off from an Esteem of a belov'd Virtue, or the Possessor of it, than a vicious Man from his corrupt Inclinations; for there

Q

is

is such a Conviction in Vice, that the most Wicked, by Reason and Thought may be work'd from it; but all the Sufferings that proceed from mistaken Virtue, serve only to harden the Sufferer, while he thinks he undergoes them for Righteousness sake.

But I think there is one Rule infallible in this Case, by which a Prince may easily discover the Hypocrite, and avoid the Evils of the Hypocrisie; and that is when the Pretender aims at Engrossing the Ear and Power of the Prince: For that is a plain Argument, that he stands not on a sound Bottom, and fears, that the Cheat will be discovered to the Prince, by a Communication of Council, and his hearing the Rest of his wise and honest Subjects, on all Causes that relate to the Public Good of the Country, or the Service of the Prince, because they have an equal Share in the Welfare of both; and will not by common Consent betray their own Interest, which is involved in the other. This made a wise Prince say, *That in the Multitude of Counselors is Safety.* From whence, by a natural

tural Consequence, it is plain, that in ONE there is *Danger*. Danger to the *Glory* of the *Prince*, and the *Happiness* of the *People*, and often, very justly, *Ruin* to the *very Person*, who, by such unjust Measures, hop'd to gain *Power* and *Felicity*.

The Passions too much indulg'd, and not justly regulated, and govern'd by the Sacred Rules of *Right Reason*, are, and always have been, the *Sourse* of all *Miseries* and *Misfortunes*, both *Private* and *Public*. And it is impossible, that any one of *Mortal Race* can escape Pain greater or less, who will hear no other *Advices*. The *highest* and most *awful Stations* cannot secure the *greatest Monarchs* from *Troubles* and *Misfortunes*, who will be led by them. And I think it is too plain to need any *Proof*, that no *Prince* can be guided by any one *Minister*, but by a passionate Fondness of him, either for his imaginary *Virtues*, or agreeable *Vices*. And, I think, it is as plain, that such a *Prince*, and the *Kingdom* govern'd by him, must be mi-
Q 2 *serable*

serable in the End. And for this Reason, all wise States-men agree, that a Prince or State ought to have no Passions, if they wou'd prosper in Glory and Power.

It is very true, that Valour and Conduct in Armies may shine in one Subject above another; that Frugality and good Management may in another; but till we can find one Man Master of all Knowledge, and all Virtues, it will never be safe nor honorable for any Prince wholly to confide himself, and his Affairs to either, exclusive of all others. For that Nation is in a lost and undone Condition indeed, that can afford but one Man among all its Nobility and Gentry qualify'd to serve the Public, and in whom the Prince cannot have an equal Confidence. Nay, it is an Argument of the Weakness and Depravity of a Prince, who, if he encouraged and Rewarded, Virtue wou'd not want Numbers of able Heads to assist him.

But, MADAM, I must remember to whom it is that I am speaking; to one of the Wifest and Best of Princes;

on whom the *first Flattery* can never have any Effect, as being entirely free from all *vicious Inclinations*; and of too good Judgment to be impos'd on by the *fairest Appearances* of *Virtue*, so far, as to lose the juster Considerations of Public Good in the shining Qualities of any *Particular*: Under you, M A D A M, we find that Saying true, *How happy is the Kingdom govern'd by a Philosopher!* We feel the Blessing, and every Day experience the *Manna* of your Reign. And how indulgent soever your M A J E S T Y may be thought to the eminent Excellencies of some, yet I have no manner of Fear, that they will ever be able to expel your M A J E S T Y's Affections from all your other Subjects, or make you ever deviate to a Partiality in their Favour, against the Good and universal Cries of your People.

This Noble Temper in your M A J E S T Y it is that secures me against all Fears from this *Freedom*, which I have taken, since you will easily see a *Public Spirit*, void of all private Aims, shine through

through the *whole*. I have therefore only to add my ardent Wishes for the *prosperous and long Reign* of your MAJESTY, over a People that are sensible of the Blessing, which Providence has bestow'd on them in their gracious QUEEN.

F I N I S.

BOOKS just Publish'd:

THe Works of Mons. *Voiture*, a Member of the Royal Academy at *Paris*, compleat; containing his Familiar Letters to Gentlemen and Ladies. Made English by *John Dryden*, Esq; *Thomas Cheek*, Esq; *Henry Cromwell*, Esq; *Mr. Dennis*, *Thomas Seymour*, Esq; *John Savil*, Esq; *Capt. Barker*, *Mr. Raphson*, and *Mr. Tho. Brown*. With three Collections of Letters on Friendship, and several other Occasions: Written by *John Dryden*, Esq; *William Wycherly*, Esq; *William Congreve*, Esq; *Mr. Dennis*, Dr. ——— *Mr. Tho. Brown*, *Mr. Edward Ward*. And Facetious Letters out of Greek, Latin, and French, by the late ingenious *Mr. Tho. Brown*.

The first Volume of *Miscellaneous Works*. Written by his Grace *George* late Duke of *Buckingham*. Printed from the Original Papers: Containing Poems on several Subjects, Epistles, Characters, Pindaricks, the Militant Couple, a Dialogue, and the Farce upon *Segemore-Fight*: With Letters by and to the Duke of *Buckingham*: By Persons of Quality. Also State-Poems on the late Times, by *Mr. Dryden*, *Sir George Etherege*, *Sir Fleetwood Sheppard*, *Mr. Butler*, Author of *Hudibras*, the Earl of D——— *Mr. Congreve*, *Mr. Otway*, *Mr. Brown*, *Capt. Ayloffe*, &c. With the late Duke of *Buckingham's* Speeches in the House of Commons, and in the House of Lords. To which is added, A Collection of Speeches in both Houses of Parliament, by several Noble Peers and Commoners in three late Reigns; and some Speeches in Time of the Usurpation of the Rump and *Oliver Cromwell*.

The Second Volume of *Miscellaneous Works*; written by his Grace, *George*, late Duke of *Buckingham*: Containing an Essay on Religion; a Key to the *Rehearsal*, of a Critical View of the Poets, that are expos'd in that celebrated Play, by the Duke of *Buckingham*: An Account of a Conference betwixt Father *Fitz-Gerald*, an Irish

BOOKS just Publish'd.

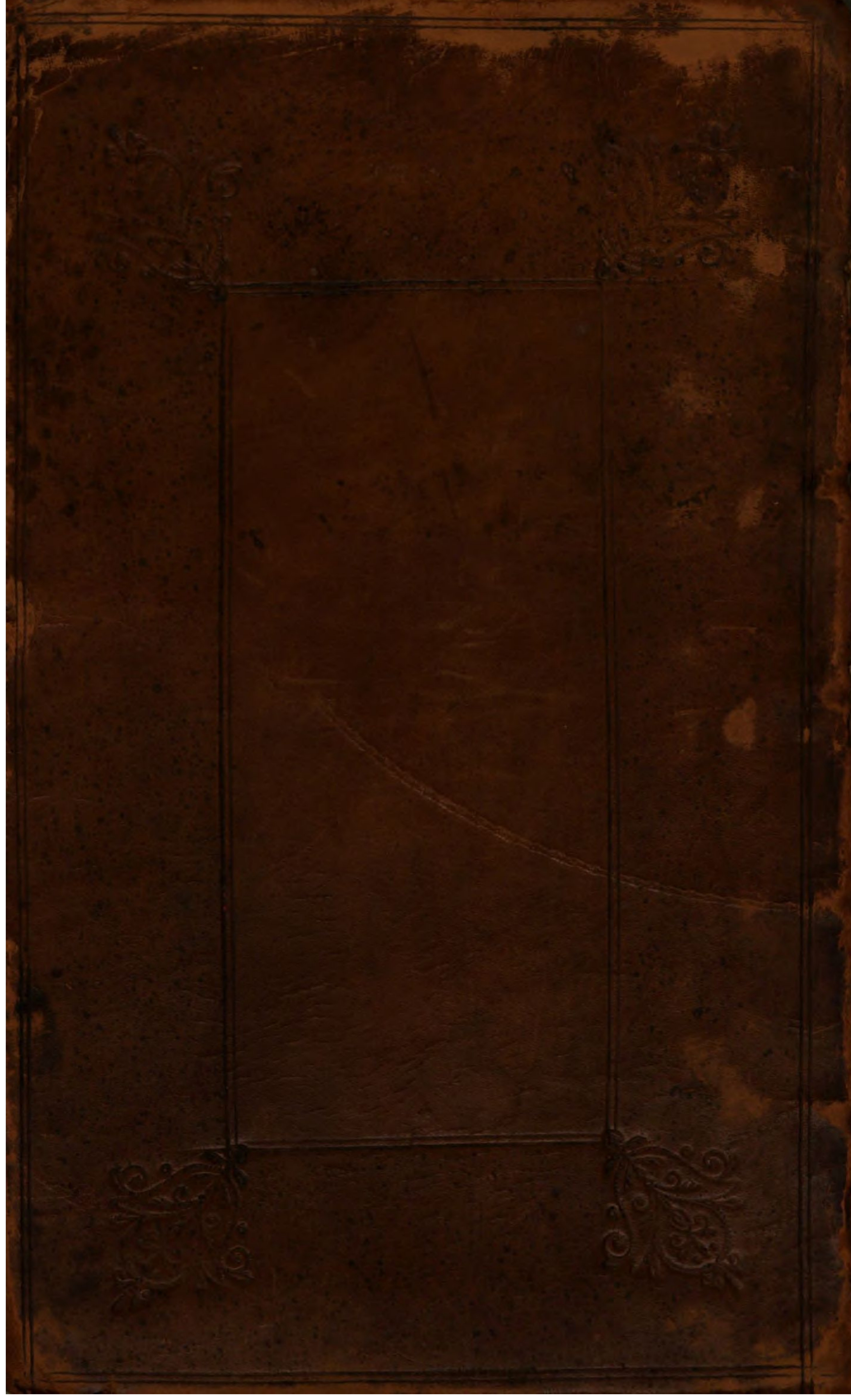
Irish Priest, whom King *James* sent to his Grace, to endeavour to pervert him to the Popish Religion; with Letters, Poems, Speeches, never before Printed: Also a Collection of Speeches in the House of Lords and Commons, State Maxims, Essays, Characters, Letters, Poems, Satyrs, collected out of several valuable Manuscripts: which give a Light into the Secret History of the Times; Written by the Duke of *Lauderdale*, the Marquess of *Halifax*, the Duke of *B——*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord Chief Justice *Treby*, Col. *Titus*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Polexfin*, Sir *William Temple*, Sir *W. Portman*, Sir *E. Sey—r*, Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Earl of *Dorset*, Sir *Geo. Etheredge*, Sir *Charles Sedley*, Mr. *Cowley*, Mr. *Dryden*, and Captain *Ayloffſe*: Collected and Prepar'd for the Preſs by Mr. *Brown*.

A Legacy for the Ladies; or, Characters of the Women of the Age; by the late Ingenious Mr. *Thomas Brown*: With a Comical View of *London* and *Westminster*; or, The Merry Quack; wherein Phyſick is Rectify'd for both the *Beaus* and *Ladies*: In Two Parts; the First Part by Mr. *Tho. Brown*; the Second Part by Mr. *Edw. Ward*, Author of the *London-Spy*, &c. To which is prefix'd, The Character of Mr. *Tho. Brown*, and his Writings, written by Dr. *Drake*.

Certamen Epistolarie; or, Eight Letters between an Attorney at Law, and a Dead Parſon. The third and laſt Letter of News from *Joe Haines* of Merry Memory, to his Friends at *Will's* Coffee-house in *Covent-garden*; being a Supplement to the ſecond Part; and a third Volume of Letters from the Dead to the Living; by Mr. *Tho. Brown*. Never before printed; With a Collection of Letters on Entertaining Subjects, ſelected out of the moſt celebrated Authors, both ancient and modern: Tranſlated into *English* with Large Improvements and Original Letters, adapted to the Humours of the preſent Times: The whole Volume by Mr. *Tho. Brown*.

An Eſſay on Ways and Means to maintain the Honour and Safety of *England*, to encrease Trade, Merchandize, Navigation, Shipping, Mariners and Sea-men, in War and Peace: Written by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Kt. With uſeful Remarks and Obſervations towards the Improvement of our Harbours, Ports and Havens. By Sir *H. Sheers*, Kt. Price 6 d.

to
to a
m.
ms,
rs;
s;
u-
ry,
es.
E.
an
u-
re-
en
t:
he
the
by
u-
he
ten
At
all
to
x-
ce
m-
on
ed
th
ed
-
ar
e,
nd
ul
of
6



Cavendish, George

Memoirs of the life of Cardinal Wolsey

Londres 1708

Biogr. 1254 k

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10068074-7